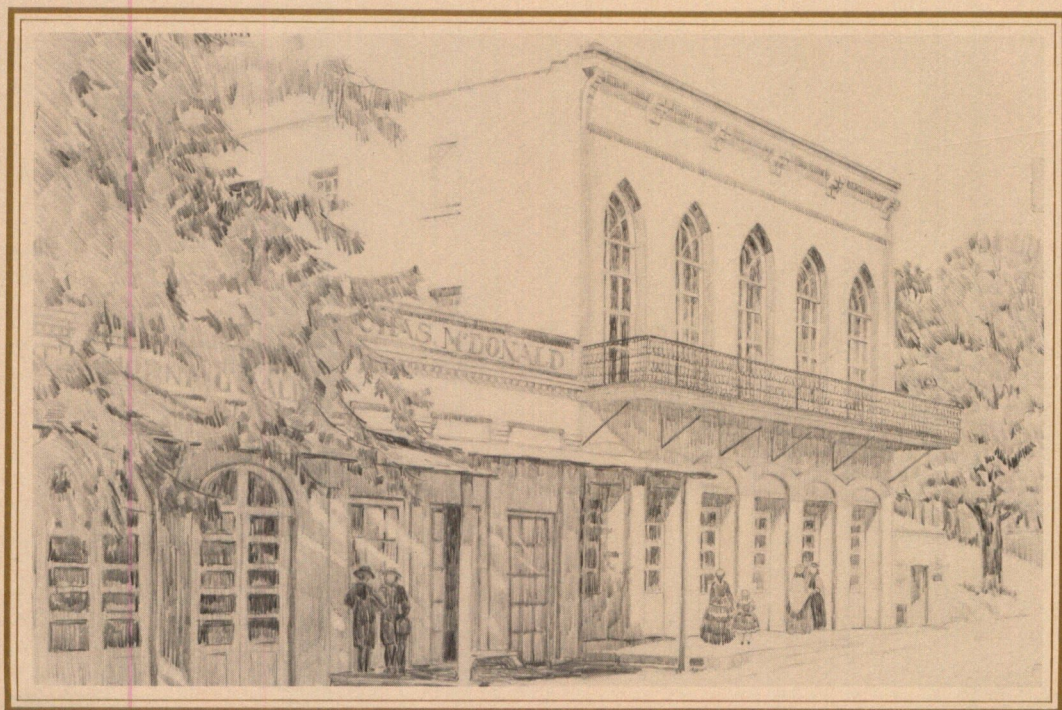


# California Historical Quarterly

*Winter 1972*



McDONALD'S HIGH CLASS SALOON AND THE CHARTER OAK  
HOTEL, SHASTA, CA. 1860

**COVER:** For three vigorous decades beginning in 1849, the town of Shasta thrived as a mining center, transportation hub, and county seat. Saloons, stores, hotels, livery stables—even two bookstores—crowded the downtown area. Now only a crumbling shell, Shasta has been brought back to life in a remarkable series of drawings by a Redding artist, Mabel Moores Frisbie, who grew up in the area during Shasta's declining years. A sampling of her work is presented in this issue on pages 331-337.

# California Historical Quarterly

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## California Architecture and Its Relation to Contemporary Trends in Europe and America

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THE CHIEF CHARACTERISTIC of California architecture is colonialism. For more than two hundred years, successive waves of immigrants have domesticated in California the cultural conditions of the diverse nations and regions from which they emigrated. This is true of the Spanish who in the eighteenth century established those foundations which we celebrate on occasion and of the Americans who in the next century overwhelmed them. It is true as well of the northern Indians who carried their Siberian wood culture to the Pacific Coast in immemorial times and of the eastern-based architectural firms which are responsible for the important building in our own times. Wherever their place of origin, and however daring or innovative their natures generally may be, immigrants are always cultural conservatives, and no group among them is more tradition-bound than are the members of the building profession. As a consequence, California architecture is not, as legend so often has it, an organic representation of such regional conditions as the land, the climate, or native building materials. Rather it is a visual projection of the continuing world-wide immigration that today, as always, is the central fact of California culture.

American historians all too frequently assume that a new land necessarily means a new culture, or at least a radically transformed one. In this connection it is well to recall the statement regarding the paradoxical nature of the national culture made at mid-nineteenth century by the sculptor Horatio Greenough: "We forget that though the country was young, yet the people were old."<sup>1</sup> In the two centuries that concern us, California has been responsible for no new important building techniques; it has initiated no major architectural trends nor has it advanced any significant architectural theo-

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NOTE: By special arrangement with the Institute of American History at Stanford University, the California Historical Society is privileged to publish a series of papers prepared by nine distinguished historians and read before a conference celebrating California's bicentennial, held at Stanford in 1970. Some of the essays will be published first in the *Quarterly* and all will be issued by the Society next spring in a book entitled *New Perspectives on California History*. The series, introduced with two essays in the last issue, is carried forward with the following essay and Gerald D. Nash's interpretation of California's economic growth, beginning on page 315.

ries. With few exceptions, her noteworthy builders have been mature immigrants who, from generation to generation, have built in California from the memory of former places and in the manner of previously learned habits. As David Gebhard has truly written, "architecture as a fine art has only touched this environment in the lightest of ways."<sup>2</sup> Man adapts only by reason of necessity. In two hundred years there has been little effort to develop an architecture out of the California environment simply because there has been no need for such an effort. In so vast an area, encompassing as it does almost every possible terrain, climate, and material condition, and settled by people from almost every known race, nation, and region, it is inevitable that almost every conceivable building culture would be imposed upon the country and has flourished here.

The study of a colonial culture begins with the people who came. Elsewhere, I have discussed the national origins and professional backgrounds of architects who came to California in the nineteenth century. Happily for the model therein established, the same general pattern of northeastern American nativity and European training continues on in our own century. As is typical of colonists everywhere, few among the immigrant-architects responded creatively to the California environment. There are of course notable exceptions, such as Bernard Maybeck and Irving Gill, both of whom were born in New York and began their California practices in the early nineties. These designers happen also to be among the half-dozen most important architects to practice in California in the last two centuries, and cannot be taken as typical of the profession in anything excepting their high standards of training. On the contrary, the profession at large has always been distinguished by extreme colonialism. Indeed, the stature of a man within the ranks has traditionally been measured by the degree to which his work parallels, or more accurately follows, contemporary fashions in the eastern United States. In this California merely mirrors the national experience, for the eastern practitioners so consistently imitated on the Pacific Coast were themselves almost without exception followers of contemporary European trends.

The difference in architectural colonialism practiced everywhere in the United States vis à vis Europe is a question only of degree and time. Because the West Coast has traditionally received her European illuminations indirectly by way of Boston and New York, the cultural time lag in California is not only greater than that in the northeastern states but the resulting product is usually a twice-distilled essence. Occasionally the West Coast has bested the East in the race for European stylistic accommodation. A noteworthy instance was the introduction at mid-nineteenth century of Beaux-Arts Classicism by Ecole-trained immigrant-architects more than a generation before the style took hold in New York. A more typical example is the route by which the architecture of the New Brutalism arrived in California.

This still evolving and confused style originated in the post-World War II work of the Smithsons in England and Le Corbusier in France; it was established in the northeastern United States in the early Eisenhower years and first appeared in the West in 1960 with the design of Wurster Hall on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. The cultural lag in this case was approximately a decade. Through most of the nineteenth century, when California was a remote sea frontier and the means of stylistic transmission was either memory or pattern books, the cultural lag was likely to be a generation. But beginning in 1869 with the completion of the transcontinental railroad and the subsequent publication of American professional architectural journals, the lag was halved, as in the example of the New Brutalism. This same process was concurrently going on between the eastern seaboard and Europe, and the fact of California's architectural colonialism is less surprising when viewed against a continuing national colonialism. If only a handful of California architects have responded creatively to the environment, the record for the United States at large is proportionately hardly better.

Two basic building techniques have dominated California construction: the Mediterranean masonry and North European wood traditions. Taken together they encompass almost the entire range of architectural effort on the Pacific Coast in the last two hundred years and suggest the schizoid character of our building culture. Both techniques are colonial and each is identified with one of the several competing cultures which contested for control in California in her first modern century. Although the masonry tradition is generally associated with the southern part of the state and the wood tradition with the northern, they are not so simply localized. Nor is it easy to assign chronological priorities. Long before the masonry tradition was established in California by Franciscan missionaries, an offshoot of the Siberian wood culture was practiced by Indians in the extreme northern counties. Furthermore, in the period of the best mission building, the masonry tradition was aggressively challenged by a Russian colonial version of the same wood culture planted along the northern Sonoma coast. The American adaptation of the North European wood tradition also successfully challenged the adobe building culture at all points of contact south of San Francisco—particularly in the provincial capital of Monterey, where the superiority of American techniques was first demonstrated by New England merchants and seamen. With American annexation in 1846, the Mediterranean masonry tradition went into a half-century quietus, to be resurrected finally as a regional response to the national Colonial Revival that swept the country after the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876. But previous to this, and after a long and confused cycle of stylistic variations, the American frame tradition entered its most enduring and creative phase as the Shingle style, the regional response to which is sometimes called the San Francisco Bay Tradi-

tion. In discussing the relationship between architecture in California and contemporary trends in Europe and the northeastern United States, I will limit myself to the Mediterranean masonry and American wood building traditions and the immigrant-architects who practiced them in the period between maturation in the first half of the nineteenth century and the several revivals of these forms between 1890 and 1930.

Both the Mediterranean and North European building cultures reached California after prolonged stages of determined colonialism in Mexico and New England. In each case there was a minimum of adaptation to the New World environment and a maximum adherence to previously learned techniques and remembered styles. The masonry tradition introduced by Franciscans at San Diego subsequent to 1769 was a Mexican variant of a much earlier building legacy left to Spain by successive waves of Roman and Moorish colonizers. It was coincidental that this colonial offshoot was admirably suited to the coastal plains of Southern California, with their familiar lack of wood, water, and shade. The true cultural conservatism of the Spanish colonizers was shortly and tragically demonstrated, however, in their stubborn refusal to alter formerly mastered masonry techniques even in the face of the new and recurring phenomenon of earthquake. The only important concession made to the California environment by the Franciscan builders was an increased use of adobe brick in place of stone in architectural construction. But this did not represent a break with the inherited Mediterranean masonry tradition, for at the time of colonization the typical farm house in both Old and New Spain was constructed either of rubble stone or mud blocks. As a matter of fact, the results of Franciscan building in California were anticipated in an earlier experience in New Mexico, where, according to George Kubler, there was also "wood without tools to work it, stone without equipment to move it, and clay without kilns to fire it."<sup>3</sup> In each case the result was the simplification of inherited techniques and not material or structural invention.

In matters of style as well as technique, the Spanish-Mexicans proved to be severe conservatives. Despite the statement of Father Englehardt that the Franciscan builders drew their architectural inspiration directly from the land, every feature of the so-called California mission style owes its origin to Mexican models. Certainly the Franciscans' lack of professional architectural knowledge and the difficulty of recruiting skilled craftsmen accounts in part for the plain surfaces, the strongly scaled and abstract character of California mission architecture. Equally important, however, is the fact that at the time of colonization the Baroque movement, and especially its Churrigueresque phase, had already given way both in Old and New Spain to Neoclassical simplicity. As Kurt Baer has pointed out, Mexican Neoclassicism was particularly marked by a revival of Roman-temple forms, and this is evident in the best of the Spanish-Mexican work in California,



such as the mission church at Santa Barbara, whose façade is taken from a plate in a Spanish edition of Vitruvius. The simplification in building techniques and the clarification of forms which distinguish Franciscan architecture in California does not therefore constitute a break with Mediterranean building traditions; rather it represents at once both the latest colonial version of a major European style as well as a reversion to the earliest Franciscan building in the New World.

The American version of the North European wood building tradition, introduced in California only slightly later than the Mediterranean masonry one, was also a product of several hundred years of determined colonialism. Investigations of the largely English-medieval origin of North American colonial architecture prove, as in the earlier experience in Mexico, that modifications were made with great reluctance and tended toward uniformity and simplification rather than innovation or invention. The wide variety of English medieval roofing techniques, for example, gave way uniformly in New England to shingles; the diversification in wall surfaces was reduced to common clapboards. Both these techniques have long histories in Old England and were particularly common in East Anglia, that region from which New England immigration in the seventeenth century so conspicuously flowed. But whereas in the Old World these forms were absorbed within a rich and diverse matrix, in the New World they became dominant, and gave to American colonial building a much remarked upon linearity and thinness which is sometimes extended beyond architecture to represent a national cultural characteristic. The American distillation of the English version of the North European wood tradition not only underwent several hundred years of material adaptation before it was introduced into California, but again like the Mexican example, it underwent stylistic simplification in the transition to the austere Greek phase of Neoclassicism. The resulting American wood frame model, already tightened, hardened, and simplified, proved to be an invincible importation. It not only conquered the architectural field in the decade preceding annexation but has continued to this day as the dominant building form on the Pacific Coast.

It is difficult to say which of the two competing colonial cultures in California embodied the staunchest architectural conservatism. The original area of settlement was in each case a matter of fortuity: the Spanish immigrated to the Andalusian-like southern coastal plains and the Americans to the forested regions from Monterey northward. But even if chance had not settled the several immigrant groups in an environment congenial to their cultures and accessible to traditional building materials, the outcome would have been predictable. For the Spanish who established remote outposts on the edge of the redwood forests built with adobe; the Americans, whether on the treeless plains of Los Angeles or the sandy wastes of San Francisco, reproduced just as stubbornly their traditional wood frame dwellings. Such

determined colonialism is only partially explained by the state's wide range of material possibilities and the relatively primitive state of Indian building. A more relevant explanation lies in the long colonial experience of each of the immigrant peoples. The earlier history of the Spanish in Mexico demonstrates how little architectural adaptation took place even when, as in the example of the Aztecs, there was a sophisticated native masonry tradition and a highly skilled body of workers to draw upon. Nor, contrary to Frederick Jackson Turner, did the New World wilderness put the English colonists in "the log cabin of the Cherokee." Indeed, that celebrated frontier institution was a Scandinavian version of the North European wood tradition introduced into Delaware by Swedish colonists in the seventeenth century; its subsequent adoption by Creek Indians, for example, in the following century is one of the ironic footnotes of American cultural history.

The problem of colonialism and adaptation is illustrated in what may be taken as a regional complement to the eastern log cabin myth, that is the notion that the use of tar as a building material originated in California with the early discovery of the brea pits in Los Angeles and the asphalt deposits near Santa Barbara. Actually, asphalt in one form or another is among the most ancient construction materials known to man, and was especially common to the Mediterranean cultures. Nor were tar roofs unknown in Old England at the time of colonization, and they were constructed, although infrequently, in New England all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is not probable, however, that many American builders in California were familiar at first hand with this kind of construction; at any rate, they were much slower to revert to the ancient technique than were the Spanish-Mexicans, whose asphalt-roofed adobes were remarked upon by New Englanders as early as 1829. The reason for this is that, again contrary to legend, the dwellings of the *Californios* were not roofed with Spanish tiles and, in the absence of an alternative such as shingles, they turned to the available tar deposits as a ready means of roofing. After shingle roofs became popular in California in the late 1830's, asphalt ceased to be widely used, and it was only in the mid-1850's that enterprising Yankees began its manufacture as a fire-preventive material. In the twentieth century the flat tar roof became an urban architectural phenomenon, especially associated in California with speculative row housing. Its ultimate inclusion within the vocabulary of both the Spanish and American builders suggests the largely accidental relationship existing in California between inherited building traditions and the extraordinary variety of climatic and material resources.

The Mexican and New England versions of the two traditional European building cultures reached maturity in California within a generation. The former is best exemplified by the fourth mission church at Santa Barbara, completed in 1815; the latter had its major development twenty years later

when Thomas Oliver Larkin, U. S. consul in Monterey, began construction of his famous timber-framed, shingle-roofed, adobe-walled house. By this time, 1835, the mission establishments were largely deserted, and Franciscan influences in California were negligible. On the other hand, the American frame house was soon to begin its spectacular conquest of the West Coast building field. But before victory came compromise. In the brief melding at Monterey of the antithetical adobe and wood traditions we have a unique instance in California of an important accommodation by the competing colonial cultures. The reason for the compromise was a temporary limitation of labor and equipment that prevented the construction of a completely timbered dwelling. The result is known as the Monterey Colonial style. But excepting the use of adobe in exterior walls, Larkin's house embodied the typical architectural components of New England Neoclassicism as remembered by the builder from his boyhood home in Massachusetts.

A study of the graphic materials relating to California in the several decades following annexation reveals the architectural triumph of the American wood tradition. Whether one consults G. R. Fardon photographs of San Francisco, the anonymous daguerreotype panoramas of lesser coastal towns, or the Kuchel and Dressel lithographs of mining communities, all record the same white-painted frame houses, churches, schools, and courthouses with their hesitant touches of Greek or Gothic ornament. Exceptions to these modest buildings, which so remarkably resemble the village architecture of the northeastern United States of the previous generation, show up occasionally in the San Francisco photographs, and give elusive yet tantalizing evidence of the brilliant international immigration of 1849-50. Here are pictured not only those previously mentioned first monuments of Beaux-Arts Classicism in the United States, but early important examples of other Renaissance cognate styles. Someday, perhaps, scholars will deal worthily with the European authors of this little known gold rush architecture—with men such as the Belgian Peter Portois; William Patton, the associate of the English Gothickist Sir Gilbert Scott; the mysterious Victor Hoffman; the Scotsman David Farquharson, whose architectural library served as an education for a whole generation of San Francisco designers. For the most part, however, architecture in the fifties and sixties was decidedly out of date, reflecting the generational cultural lag persisting until at least 1869. It tells us much about the American past of the California pioneers but reveals little of the revolution in building that was going on in the eastern United States in the quarter-century that followed the construction of Larkin's prototype at Monterey. This was the phenomenon Vincent Scully has named the Stick style, and which in time developed into California's first urban architectural vernacular.

Although the Stick style derived ultimately from the picturesque phase of late-eighteenth century English Neoclassicism, architectural historians

credit it as the first “uniquely American expression of timber form.”<sup>14</sup> The earlier variants of the North European wood tradition which we have considered, such as the late English-medieval or even the Swedish log cabin, are indeed distinguishable from Old World prototypes, but they are not fundamentally different in material or construction. The Stick style, however, assumed a characteristically American cast by combining the recently developed light “balloon” frame construction with a simplified “Gothic-Swiss” stylistic formula. The philosophical basis of the style in Jacksonian democratic theory has often been remarked upon, and certainly the success of the movement in California resulted largely from the fact it gave the state its first mass urban architecture. The earliest American propagandist of the Stick style was the New York landscape designer Andrew Jackson Downing, who expounded his aesthetic and egalitarian theories in a series of pattern books published in the 1840’s and 1850’s. His principal regional disciple, Henry William Cleaveland, arrived in San Francisco in 1850 and six years later published his own *Village and Farm Cottages*. But Cleaveland’s early work in California, so far as it can be identified, was wholly derivative, and it was not until the late 1870’s that his important Stick designs were widely copied on the West Coast. By that time the style was hopelessly enmeshed in a fantasy of Second Empire, Queen Anne, and Eastlake components which can best be described as the Bay Window vernacular.

The development of this awesome vernacular required more than the breakdown of stylistic discipline resulting from a quarter-century of rapidly shifting imported building fashions. Specifically, there had to be the need for mass housing and the means of exploiting this need. San Francisco’s population growth, which went unchecked since the gold rush, supplied the need; cooperative building associations and private speculators furnished the capital. And the architects stood ready with their designs. As was earlier remarked, the Stick style was as much a social as an architectural movement, dedicated, as one of its propagandists stated, to “The Toiling Millions, Whose Means are Small, yet Whose Desires are Great to possess a Home, where Industry and Contentment shall be household gods, and Independence be allied with Happiness.”<sup>15</sup> This was underscored in Cleaveland’s popular pattern book, which offered designs for cottages costing as little as \$500. In an inflationary period such as our own, it is perhaps unkind to note that almost thirty years after the publication of Cleaveland’s book, the Massachusetts-born educator John Pelton could still offer plans for cottages costing \$500. But this was 1882, and the demand was then for urban housing, hence his most popular model was a two-story row house that could be constructed for under \$1200. The acceptance of this and similar Stick prototypes by the Real Estate Association of San Francisco, which constructed many thousand such houses under long-term financing, was crucial in the creation of the vernacular.



In San Francisco's ebullient "Champagne Days" the Stick style acquired a Second Empire roof, sharply incised Eastlake ornament, and a helter-skelter surface of shingles and boards contemporaneously described as more Mary Anne than Queen Anne. This highly eclectic vernacular is generally dismissed as merely the architectural counterpart of a restless, confused, but supremely confident society. It is something more, however; something rare in California: the transformation, no matter how minimal, of colonial architectural forms as a result of regional environmental conditions. San Francisco, with its continually alternating fog and sunshine, is a city of strong contrasts. The light is flooding and the shadows deep. These conditions proved ideal for the propagation of Stick architecture, whose character depends upon shadows thrown across the surface by projecting structural members. It was the distinction of the San Francisco row house that no structural member (nor for that matter any non-structural one) was denied the privilege of projection. And in the regional vernacular the least inhibited projection was the bay window. These billowing sheets of glass, enclosed in whimsically ornamented frames and crowned with pierced entablatures and bracketed pediments, are to San Francisco of the 1870's and 1880's what brownstone was to an earlier New York. The bay window is not a native invention; indeed, it was specifically prescribed by Downing himself as a means of multiplying the range of contrast so essential to the style. But whatever the origin of the various components making up the Bay Window vernacular, their coming together in a genuinely regional juxtaposition gave California its first and most wondrous urban housing. The exuberance of this conglomerate style has found belated appeal to an increasing crowd of Neo-Victorians in revolt against the bleak dimensions of contemporary housing. At the time, however, Sir Charles Eastlake, whose designs were widely plagiarized in the development of the San Francisco row house, dismissed the vernacular as an "extravagant and bizarre burlesque." It was this; but it was also the best fun that architects have had in California in two centuries.

The cultural colonialism involved in this architectural fantasy is apparent: the Second Empire was a French importation; Queen Anne and Eastlake were but the latest obligations in the cultural debt owed to England by America. Of the three international styles that merged with the native Stick to create the Bay Window vernacular, only the Queen Anne will hold us further, for its transformation into the Shingle phase of the Colonial Revival profoundly influenced California architecture. The American roots of the Shingle style lie in the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876. Here, in the British government buildings, Americans were introduced to the shingled, half-timbered, Old-English cottage architecture that, for reasons still mysterious, was called Queen Anne; here also was the first serious reconstruction of a Japanese frame building, it, too, covered with small shingles, finally, both in the philosophy of the Exposition and in the New

England exhibit was the germ for that series of regional colonial revivals which practically delineate California architecture from 1890 to 1930. The specific psychological and material conditions which account for the national Colonial Revival do not concern us; it is enough to note that at the end of that age which historians have called "Gilded," the post-Civil War generation turned back to its American colonial past as a source for architectural inspiration. The national Colonial Revival brought Californians to a belated appreciation of the architecture of their own colonial past and to the realization, and eventual imitation, of the ruined Franciscan missions and the picturesque houses of the first New England settlers. Because the movement was national in origin, and reached California as part of her immigrant culture, the earliest manifestation was the eastern revivalist phase known as the Shingle type.

The Shingle style was carried to California after the usual ten-year cultural lag by a half dozen brilliant young men who together epitomize the exceptional standards pertaining in the western profession since the gold rush. The first Shingle stylist was Earnest Coxhead, who although only twenty-three when he arrived in 1886 was already a member of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Three years later Willis Polk and Bernard Maybeck appeared in San Francisco, the latter with the diploma of the Beaux-Arts in his pocket. In 1893 Irving Gill and Charles and Henry Greene came West in search of health: Gill from the Chicago firm of Adler and Sullivan; the brothers Greene from the school of architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a tour of Boston architectural offices. Every one of these men had experienced colonial architecture at first hand, and all were familiar with the Shingle style as developed in the East by Henry Hobson Richardson and Stanford White. Henry Greene worked several years in the Boston firm founded by Richardson; Polk served an apprenticeship in the San Francisco office of A. Page Brown, a former associate of White and himself an accomplished Shingle stylist. Together these men were the most distinguished architects to immigrate to California in two centuries. Ultimately they divided their loyalties equally between the northern and southern parts of the state: Coxhead, Polk, and Maybeck developed a regional version of the Shingle manner that has passed into nomenclature as the San Francisco Bay Tradition. In Pasadena the Greenes progressed from conventional renderings of eastern colonial form to a highly personalized statement that gave its only distinction to the ubiquitous California Bungalow. Finally, in San Diego, Gill discovered in the ruins of Franciscan architecture the inspiration for a brilliant synthesis of the second western phase of the Colonial Revival—the Mission movement.

Like all nineteenth-century offshoots of the Stick style, the Shingle depends upon the principle of opposition and contrast. Coxhead and Polk achieved contradiction by the traditional superimposition of over-scaled

classical forms, such as Georgian door frames and Palladian windows, upon plain surfaces of rough-cut shingle. Bernard Maybeck juxtaposed a much wider historical vocabulary to the redwood vernacular, and did this in a highly personal and expressionistic manner. Maybeck was also exceptional in his romantic—almost medieval—sense of the totality of architecture, and his deep love of materials and profound respect for craftsmanship. More than any other Bay Traditionalist, Maybeck embodied the dramatically self-contradictory characteristics of the Shingle style. Although highly original in his use of the structural and decorative possibilities of materials, he was extremely eclectic, emotional, and unpredictable. His admirers, and they are deservedly many, have responded in kind by calling his work “creative eclecticism.”

The material employed by all of these designers was native redwood, as it had been since the first shingles were cut north of San Francisco Bay in 1833. But the use of an indigenous material does not constitute a style. California redwood differs in composition from eastern fir in perhaps the same manner as her adobe soil differs from that of Mexico. Yet, neither in the case of the Mediterranean masonry nor the American wood traditions did regional building conditions radically alter imported architectural forms. The Bay Traditionalists took an already open plan and adapted it to the more informal pattern of western living; in conforming to regional climatic conditions, they extended an already free flow of space by largely eliminating the distinction between in-doors and out-of-doors. They did this by close planting and interior garden courts, by increasing the areas of glass, and cutting back or opening up sections of the wide eaves traditional to the Stick manner.

The fact there still is a Bay Tradition, despite the profound material and social changes which have transformed San Francisco since the Shingle style was domesticated there more than four generations ago, has led some writers to assume an indigenous architecture. The self-conscious character of the regional work, however, suggests that the Bay Tradition is not so much a response to environmental factors as a continuing restatement of what is now an exhausted and manneristic formula. As has been shown, the Bay Tradition did not deviate importantly either in form or material from the eastern models which directly inspired it. The inhibiting factors in this case are not simply the usual ones endemic to colonial cultures such as that of California. One must consider as well the overriding genius of the eastern masters who developed the style and the pragmatic character of the style itself which seemed at the time to hold infinite possibilities for variation and adaptation. Together these conditions forestalled originality among Shingle stylists everywhere in the United States. It is under such comparative conditions of national imitation that the Bay Tradition assumes its deserved distinction. But whether or not one labels the works of the northern California Shingle stylists Bay Tradition, the fact is that this highly sophisticated build-

ing is largely a provincial ordering of a well-established eastern formula.

The transformation of the eastern Shingle style into a regional vernacular was the work of Southern California building speculators wholly alien to the standards of civility implicit in the Bay Tradition. Their creation, the "California Bungalow," was the state's first major suburban vernacular. The bungalow, like everything architectural in California, was imported. The term, an Anglicization of the word "Bengali," tells the origin in the temporary or seasonal dwellings used by colonial administrators in the British East. The characteristics that account for the bungalow development in India and Ceylon, the maximum circulation of air by means of raised foundations and constant shade derived from wide verandas, along with ease and cheapness of construction, assured its success in California. Exactly when the bungalow first appeared on the West Coast is not as easily determined as is its colonial nature. In 1895 the *American Architect* published an authentic "Indian Bungalow" designed for San Francisco's peninsula by A. Page Brown, who came to California from the New York office of McKim, Mead and White in the great architectural immigration of the late 1880's and early 90's. But this was an isolated example of what was regarded regionally as an exotic building form. It was not until 1903, when Charles and Henry Greene, having finally sloughed off their Queen Anne clichés, designed a redwood house around a patio for Arturo Bandini in Pasadena, that the vernacular took hold. Bandini believed the California bungalow represented a modern version of the dwellings of his Spanish-Mexican forebears; others hold it to be the final phase of the nineteenth-century American wood tradition first domesticated at Monterey by Thomas Oliver Larkin and subsequently vernacularized by successive waves of Yankee immigrants.

The Greene brothers, liked Bernard Maybeck, were masters in the elaboration and personalization of earlier techniques. Indeed, they followed so closely the eastern tradition of picturesque wood construction begun by Andrew Jackson Downing that their work has been called variously Neo-Stick or Western Stick style. Implicit in both these categorizations is the fact that the work of Charles and Henry Greene represents an end—not a beginning—in the long tradition of creative experimentation with wood forms that started in the 1840's as an American reaction to late-eighteenth century English picturesque classicism. The Greenes' loose, "unemphatic" planning was a direct outgrowth of the spatial freedom achieved by the early Shingle stylists; their use of materials, even their penchant for Japanese construction and motifs, stemmed directly from ideas generated by the Philadelphia Centennial and, for Californians, reinforced at the Midwinter Fair held in San Francisco in 1894. Although the Greenes created a number of beautiful houses, their work has probably been even more overrated than that of the Bay Traditionalists. Unfortunately, too, their sensitive designs, executed with the finest craftsmanship, were taken over wholesale by bungalow-book writers and contractor-builders and transformed into a shoddy suburban



vernacular. In the first two decades of this century, entire streets, even whole sections of cities, were covered with self-consciously rustic bungalows more marred than charmed by the crude touches of oriental, Art Nouveau, or Arts and Crafts detailing reluctantly allowed by their jerrybuilders.

Earlier it was remarked that the Shingle style was the first architectural manifestation of a national movement of discovery growing out of the Philadelphia Centennial. In their search among the remote villages of New England for an architectural symbolism to match the concurrent literary and historical reinterpretations of American colonial culture, the eastern revivalists found their models in ancient weathered houses whose somber façades were dramatized by carved gables or portals overhung with massive pediments. In the conservative tradition of building, this largely seventeenth-century architecture was crossed with the American Stick style and the English Queen Anne to create the famous Shingle vernacular. As the search for a colonial past continued, designers inevitably revived academic building forms from the late-eighteenth century as well, and these, too, in time, reached California. But this phase of the national Colonial Revival failed to take hold on the West Coast. Its sterile historicity was rightly judged incongruous to the glare, newness, and rush of western living. Anyway, the Californians were uncertainly discovering that they had a past of their own. As one of them put it, "Give me neither Romanesque nor Gothic; much less Italian Renaissance, and least of all English Colonial—this is California—give me Mission."<sup>6</sup> The regional transformation of the national Colonial Revival into a native movement at the end of the nineteenth century signaled the return of the long banished Mediterranean masonry tradition.

In the opinion of David Gebhard the two Hispanic revivals that dominated California architecture after 1890 should be considered as one movement rather than, as is traditional, separated under the rubrics Mission and Spanish Colonial. Only by giving these Mediterranean offshoots unity of treatment, writes Gebhard, "can [one] understand these seemingly divergent architectural forms . . . as representing a single and coherent statement—an architectural statement which strongly influenced the various *avant garde* movements which [subsequently] developed in California."<sup>7</sup> There is much to be said for this point of view, particularly if one regards the entire movement as a revival of California's Mediterranean building tradition and not merely a set of stylistic sequences. However, as the Mission and Spanish Colonial phases are distinct, with very little overlapping either in time or personality, it is convenient to continue the traditional labels—bearing in mind that the revival of Mediterranean building forms at the end of the nineteenth century is of importance to us primarily as a regional manifestation of national, or even international, architectural trends.

A long gulf divided the desire of Californians for a colonial past and the discovery of the architectural sources which might give it validity. Six years after the national Colonial Revival was launched in Philadelphia, a

group of Californians, reacting against a century of European and north-eastern American architectural colonialism, issued an appeal for a native style shaped by “its fitness for the purpose for which it is to be erected” and “the locality where it stands.”<sup>8</sup> But though the San Franciscans celebrated the centennial of the founding of Mission Dolores in the same year that they discovered the New England exhibit at Philadelphia, the Mission Revival was ten years getting under way. The problem was simply that there was very little Spanish-Mexican architecture in California to discover. The gradual evolution of the English Queen Anne style toward an American colonial architecture, which so facilitated the work of the eastern revivalists, had no western counterpart, and the Californians were faced with the fact that, excepting some poor adobe cottages, the only architectural evidence of a Mediterranean past were the isolated ruins of the Franciscan missions. To see in these disintegrating monuments the possibility of a regional revival was the genius of the New Englander, Charles Fletcher Lummis, editor of *Land of Sunshine*, who spoke for the architects as well as the Southern Pacific Railroad when he wrote that the missions “are worth more money, are a greater asset to Southern California, than our oil, our oranges, or even our climate.”<sup>9</sup>

Paradoxically, the Mission Revival as an architectural movement began in Northern California with the Shingle stylist Willis Polk, who in 1887 published a sketch for a “Mission Church of Southern California Type.” It was another Bay Traditionalist, A. Page Brown, who brought the movement to national attention with his design for the California Building at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. By that time a handful of Southern California architects, chief of whom was the propagandist Arthur Benton, had begun to translate Lummis’s philosophy into railroad stations, inns, schoolhouses, and business blocks (but ironically not churches) whose mastic surfaces and cast iron tile roofs mocked rather than imitated the work of the Franciscan builders. As in the case of the Shingle style before it, the Mission craze was taken up by the Craftsman movement and converted into another bungalow vernacular—this time with even more deadly results. What finally killed the movement was boredom. The mission idea was as alien to twentieth-century California as adobe construction was to twentieth-century technology. Without functional or material integrity, the revival fell back upon theatrics and spawned a host of so-called Moorish, Venetian, Islamic, and Hopi sub-styles, each of which, if possible, was more degraded than the other. Irving Gill, who loved the missions for their structural honesty and aesthetic austerity, wrote: “It is safe to say that more architectural crimes have been committed in their name than in any other, unless it be the Grecian temples.”<sup>10</sup> Yet, were it not that Gill had some connection with the movement, this first phase of the attempt to revive Mediterranean building forms in California would be dismissed as an architectural banality.

The Mission Revival was generally rejected by the important designers of the time as an anachronistic source for twentieth-century architecture. An exception was the San Diego designer Irving Gill, who, although not properly a Mission Revivalist, found in the Spanish-Mexican colonial architecture of Southern California the inspiration for a personal version of the international movement known as Rationalism. Like his exact contemporaries, the Greenes of Pasadena, Gill practiced for more than a decade in various orthodox eastern styles before his work showed any important regional influences. Then, around 1907, he began to design structures in the most advanced technology which were also beautifully integrated into the past. As Esther McCoy has written, Gill was "a romanticist whom time has shown to be a realist." This realism, combined with respect for materials learned in an apprenticeship with Louis Sullivan, separated him from the Southern California Mission Revivalists. Whereas they despised technology, Gill used it as a high art—adapting the most advanced methods of cast concrete to structural purposes with the same integrity that he utilized Franciscan forms in design concepts. The famous question as to whether or not Gill's ideas of structure and design derived ultimately from the Viennese purist Adolf Loos is beyond my competence to resolve. However, the controversy is important to us as suggestive, once again, of the international cross-currents always operative in California as a result of continuing cultural colonialism. As an easterner trained in the Midwest with a profound interest in American technology and European stylistic developments, Gill seems to epitomize the California immigrant-architect of the last century. He is conspicuously separated from the historical western profession, however, by reason of his genius. Gill's work may be the best yet done in California. At any rate, it is a hostage against all the failures of the Mediterranean Revival and stands, with that of Bernard Maybeck, as rare testimony to the creative possibilities for architecture inherent in this land and culture.

The Mission movement was California's second response to the national Colonial Revival. But unlike the brilliant success achieved by the Shingle stylists working in eastern architectural forms in San Francisco and Pasadena, the Mission Revivalists failed to create a viable synthesis of past and present. The successor movement, the Spanish Colonial Revival, also originated in an international exposition—this one held in San Diego in 1915 to commemorate the completion of the Panama Canal. The San Diego Exposition was typically an exercise in colonialism. Bertram Goodhue, whose New York office designed most of the buildings, claimed that he secured the commission by reason of his studies of Spanish colonial architecture in Mexico. Faithful to the books of photographs from which he made his own elaborate renderings, Goodhue introduced the Churrigueresque style into California—even though one hundred years earlier the Franciscans had rejected it in favor of Neoclassicism. Outside the exposition grounds, however, Mexican religious architecture proved even more alien to twentieth-

century building requirements than had the California missions. But Goodhue had other books, and from these he selected the Andalusian and Mexican farmhouses which are the real sources of the Spanish Colonial Revival. The fact there was no proper Spanish colonial architecture in California other than the discredited missions was not a problem to the revivalists. As Herbert Croly said, there was a "spiritual similarity" between the Renaissance tradition and the church architecture of the Mediterranean countries; it was the realization of this spirit, he maintained, that motivated the Franciscan builders in California. Such rationalizations aside, the sources of the Spanish Colonial Revival were pictorial plates, and from the year of the San Diego Exposition until 1930, a host of new style pattern books were published to acquaint Southern California designers with what were alleged to be the ambitions of the mission fathers.

For our purposes the most interesting of these sources is architect Richard Requa's *Old World Inspiration for American Architects*, published in 1929. Requa not only gave in his title a terse summation of one hundred and sixty years of California architectural colonialism but conveniently included among his Spanish models a handful from England—the other major European source for western building traditions. Requa also returns us to the chief inspirational occupation of regional designers in the last several centuries: the perusal of architectural publications. The Franciscans who first introduced Mediterranean masonry techniques in California built from plates in Vitruvius; the Stick stylists popularized the American wood tradition through the pattern books of Downing and Cleaveland. Their present-day successors, whether subscribing to the New Brutalism of England and France or the Skidmore, Owens and Merrill syndrome of New York, continue to build in California from pictorial references in professional books and magazines.

To summarize, I have presented the historical facts of the relationship between California architecture and contemporary trends in Europe and America wholly in terms of the immigrant-designers who worked within the Mediterranean masonry and American wood building traditions. This admittedly limited construct presents my interpretation of several hundred years of architectural effort. Although we may differ as to the aesthetic quality of California building in the successive periods of Spanish, Mexican, and American domination, we can, I hope, agree upon its colonial character. Certainly there is more to California architecture—and California culture—than the characteristic of colonialism. An immigrant culture necessarily represents the interaction between imported ideas and the challenge of a new environment. In California, however, the force of environment has been blunted by diversity and a seemingly infinite capacity for accommodation. This, together with a continually accelerating immigration, has resulted in the persistence of colonial forms to a degree hardly matched in the United States. Santayana's observation that the distinct characteristic of immigra-



tion is social radicalism and cultural conservatism truly defines the California architect through almost ten generations. He wanted a new life, yes, but he wanted it in the only setting he could culturally understand—the one he left behind; hence, the one he must reproduce.

If nothing else, my perhaps relentless emphasis upon colonialism has suggested how much remains to be known about every aspect of California architecture other than its national and international antecedents. For example, what are the psychological and social factors which gave the Shingle style its sense of fitness and long ascendancy in the San Francisco Bay region? To what extent does the bungalow reflect the mediocrity of life in Southern California, with its desperate perpetuation upon a booming wasteland of the supposedly rural values of a largely midwestern immigration? How faithfully does architecture reveal the extraordinarily exploitive character of California society? Or its pluralism or mobility or impermanence? Is there a correlation between the make-believe character of much of California building in the last half-century and the unreality of contemporary social and political ideas? In a broader sense we can ask whether or not what we have found in architecture can be extrapolated to the entire range of California culture: to art, literature, music, learning, and so on. The answers to these questions lie in future scholarship, and we can hope that they will be forthcoming. Up until now, however, there has been little opportunity for serious cultural stock-taking; all that we have been able to do is glance at the evidence and wait for the next wave of immigrant culture to break. If my summation of the architectural components of this forever-coming-into-being-culture has been something of a negative catalogue, that does seem to be the nature of California culture.

## NOTES

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3. George Kubler, *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico* (Colorado Springs, 1940), 131.
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5. Charles P. Dwyer, *The Economic Cottage Builder* (Buffalo, 1856), unnumbered page.
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## Hot Summer in the Sierra: An Early Contest for Resource Rights at Lake Tahoe

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THE “LAKE OF THE SKY,” Lake Tahoe in the high Sierra Nevada, has frequently been a geographical focal point of public controversy. Complex and acrimonious disputes have resulted from attempts to balance demands for development of natural resources with desires to preserve the natural beauty and recreation values of the California-Nevada lake basin. In the summer of 1920, one episode of the intricate and on-going drama featured a contest over the use of Tahoe’s water for irrigation *v.* recreation purposes. Involved in the creation and eventual settlement of the disputes were parties with historic prerogatives in water usage, a new federal reclamation project with heavy demands for water from the lake’s outlet, and lumber companies which operated in the basin’s tree-clad hills. Legal actions and controversies, national Congressional action, and innumerable intangible attitudes displayed throughout the altercation reflected the basic contradiction between goals of preservation and exploitation.

The 1920 dispute had historical precedents. In 1870, the Donner Lumber and Boom Company, led by Leland Stanford and Mark Hopkins, received from the California legislature a statutory permit to control the outlet to Lake Tahoe. The act gave the corporation the right to establish a dam at the source of the Truckee River near Tahoe City and to “improve” the river’s channel. An improved channel would allow the company to float timber down from the lake to the company’s sawmills at Truckee, California, and the dam would help to control the channel flow for efficient use by the tree harvesters. The Donner Lumber and Boom Company agreed to pay \$25,000 a year for its twenty-year rights.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after the company received its franchise, preservation interests were awakened to the natural beauty of the region by the publication of Mark Twain’s *Roughing It* (1871). Twain’s description of the great lake and the surrounding countryside reached heights of poetic rhetoric seldom duplicated, and the Tahoe region became thereby known as a region worthy of being protected from rapacious business exploitation.

Nevertheless, after the Donner Company’s rights expired in 1890, the dam continued to be used for regulating the Truckee River’s flow for the convenience of downstream water users, mainly a series of electric power plants

between Truckee, California, and Reno, Nevada. By such use, the dam attained a permanent status in the area.<sup>2</sup>

In 1900, Senator William Morris Stewart of Nevada attempted to exert conciliatory leadership between factions of preservationists and resource users. He introduced legislation in Congress "to set apart certain lands in the States of California and Nevada as a public park and forest reservation, to be known as the Lake Tahoe National Park, and for other purposes." Recognizing the other side's demands, one section of the bill dedicated surplus waters from the lake for downstream agriculture.<sup>3</sup> This reasonable plan failed to win acceptance, however, for the national political and economic climate favored increased industrial use of resources. Even though some sections of the lake basin had been completely logged off by that time, it was believed that valuable lumber in apparently inexhaustible quantities should not lie idle.

Meanwhile, the Donner Lumber and Boom Company had passed to the heirs of the original incorporators. In 1903, these successors attempted to renew their rights to the Truckee River's water by demanding payments from the operators of the power plants along the river. After a great deal of bickering and threatened lawsuits, the Fleishhacker utility interests, which owned two of the electrical installations along the stream, purchased the dam and a fifty-four acre plot of land at the lake's outlet to the Truckee River for \$45,000.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, the United States Reclamation Service, created by the Newlands Act of 1902, began to assert power in the region. Apparently Service representatives believed the Fleishhacker deeds to be defective, and so they also purchased the ground at the outlet of Tahoe—for \$7,500—and announced their intention to build a new dam and spillway. The purpose of this dam was to raise the lake's level by several feet and thereby create a vast storage reservoir for downstream irrigation, specifically for the Truckee-Carson Irrigation Project (later the Newlands Project) near Fallon in Nevada's Churchill County. A contract was let, and men and equipment began the work on the project, only to be stopped by an injunction obtained by E. J. "Lucky" Baldwin and Lloyd Tevis, lakeside property owners and Fleishhacker allies.

Subsequently, eastern capitalists, including the Boston firm of Stone and Webster, gained title to the power plants on the Truckee. Then the Stone and Webster company demanded and received from the Reclamation Service the right to use water from the river, control the Tahoe outlet and an improved dam, and make such storage as they saw fit, "subject to no charge and to no control."<sup>5</sup>

Lakeshore residents and the Reclamation Service continued to dispute the beneficial uses of the lake's water. Meanwhile, at the Truckee-Carson Irrigation Project, the thirsty developing farmlands required an ever-increasing

volume of the Truckee's flow. In 1911, the persistent harangue over Tahoe's waters so frightened California legislators that they passed a law preventing diversions from the Truckee and the lake by Nevadans. Again, in 1913, California enacted a similar bill.<sup>6</sup> The farmers of the project area had developed some small agricultural businesses, including feed grinding mills, sugar beet cultures, and truck gardens, and this legislation particularly irritated them, for they had difficulties in cultivating their poor lands, even without constant conflict over water.<sup>7</sup>

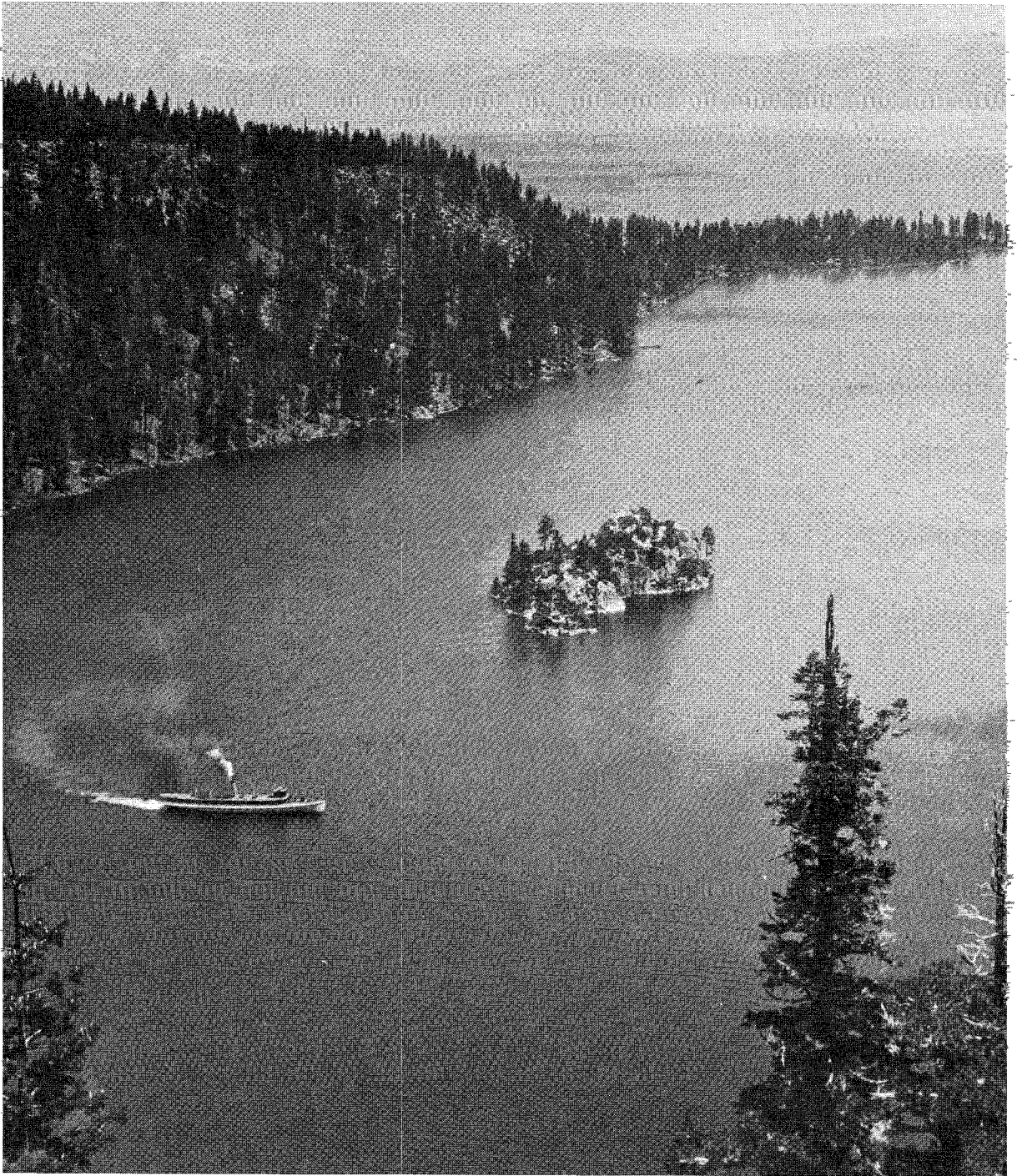
The Tahoe struggle reached the House of Representatives in 1912. Congress ordered an investigation of conflicting claims between farmers, power companies, lake resort owners, and the Reclamation Service. The inquiry solved no outstanding problems, however, partly because the investigators were evidently biased in favor of the electrical interests. They erroneously claimed, for example, that the power companies wanted orderly regulation of the Truckee River's flow, while farmers demanded the entire year's runoff within a few months of the irrigation season.<sup>8</sup> The report also contained a plea for more reservoir sites in the Truckee watershed and for expanded power development along the river.

A year later, in 1913, the Reclamation Service began a suit which resulted in a consent decree in 1915. For \$139,000, the government received from the Truckee River General Electric Company (the Stone and Webster subsidiary) a perpetual easement in the dam and the works at the outlet of the lake and agreed, in return, to maintain the river's flow for the benefit of the power company. The Reclamation Service also gained the right to store a limited amount of water in the lake and release it as needed for downstream use.<sup>9</sup> In years of adequate snowfall and runoff, the decree was fairly satisfactory to all parties; in a dry season, the results were near chaos. This was the case in 1920.

The winter of 1919-1920 disappointed those who hoped for heavy rains and snows. Early in the year Newlands Project residents knew that their hopes for high returns from crop sales were virtually doomed. They began to look for sources of water to supplement the meager flow of the two little rivers that served the irrigation project; naturally, their eyes turned to Tahoe.

The proper use of Lake Tahoe was a subject which predictably excited controversy. The blandest suggestion for increased use of lake water met the wildest rebuttals. Lakeside property owners were particularly vociferous in guarding their rights. Proposals to raise or lower the water level brought forth speeches, legal briefs, and letters to newspapers. In the spring of 1919, for example, the Newlands Project residents and the Stone and Webster concern had proposed using the lake to store some six feet of water (as opposed to the then four-foot maximum). The six-foot reserve would have added 240,000 acre feet for the benefit of the Churchill County farmers. In





Beautiful Lake Tahoe, here pictured with the legendary steamer *Tahoe* (1896-1940) making her rounds, has been the object of intermittent controversy between conservationists and developers for a hundred years.



response, the Bliss resort owners (and former timber dealers) at Tahoe issued strong statements opposing the use of the lake for additional irrigation storage on the basis that "the great lake cannot be used for an artificial purpose without nullifying its value as a pleasure resort."<sup>10</sup>

Another typical interchange transpired in January, 1920, between the director of the Reclamation Service, Arthur Powell Davis, and California property owner Henry F. Droste. Droste protested a rumored plan to drive a tunnel into the bottom of the lake and drop the water level 100 feet, which would provide water for Truckee River power plants and irrigation for an increased amount of acreage on the Newlands Project. Davis responded that no such plans existed, but Droste remained adamant in energetic opposition to any tampering with the lake and to any expansion of the irrigation project. This crossfire ran over two columns in a Fallon, Nevada, newspaper.<sup>11</sup>

After the disappointingly dry winter, the Reclamation Service, in April, 1920, proposed to cut into the "rim" of Lake Tahoe to tap the waters for the Newlands Project. This time the plan met opposition from the Bliss and Hobart resort interests at Tahoe on the basis that their facilities would be damaged by lowering the water, and the Reclamation Service was refused permission.<sup>12</sup>

By July, with crops dying in the fields of Churchill County, the request became more insistent. The Truckee-Carson Irrigation District (TCID) board of directors appealed to the Interior Department to allow incising of the lake's rim and irrigating of the Truckee downstream area with the top two feet of lake water.<sup>13</sup> Later the same month the desperate farmers assumed control of the situation and visited Tahoe water owners in an attempt to persuade them to release some of the precious fluid. Spirited discussion took place as TCID farmers advanced utilitarian theories (the greatest good for the greatest number) and resort owners refused to budge from a "hands off the lake" stand determined by devotion to beauty and tourism. Each side concluded that the other's argument was based only on a selfish desire for profit. An editorial in a Fallon paper called the Tahoeites "dogs in the manger," while resort owners responded that the farmers represented "rapacious interests" who would see "sapphire tinted Tahoe . . . disappear."<sup>14</sup>

The lakeside property owners' fears that they would lose the lake had some basis in fact. During the summer of 1919, the Reclamation Service had employed engineers and lawyers in an attempt to purchase "flowage rights" from all shoreline landholders. R. M. Patrick, assistant district counsel for the Reclamation Service, received instructions to submit lists and property descriptions of all title holders in the Placer County-Tahoe area. The purpose of this investigation was to aid in preparing condemnation suits "in connection with storage rights needed in Lake Tahoe."<sup>15</sup> Similar lists were prepared for all lakeside properties at Tahoe the same year.<sup>16</sup> By March, 1920, at least

three purchases of flowage rights on Tahoe's north shore had been consummated, all for several hundreds of dollars.<sup>17</sup> Whether the property owners had valid title to the waters that washed their beaches was apparently not questioned.

The summer's controversy between resort owners and farmers culminated on July 30, 1920, in a meeting at Reno between Tahoe residents, TCID representatives, and the Reclamation Service. Arguments at the forum opened old wounds and created new bitterness; they also revived the historic conflict between promoters of beauty and advocates of resource use. Participants in the meeting included Reclamation Service Director Arthur P. Davis, Newlands Project manager John F. Richardson, Nevada State Engineer James G. Scrugham, and Governor of Nevada Emmet D. Boyle. Federal government delegates came from the Army Corps of Engineers and the Justice Department. A large group of men from Tahoe resorts completed the company.

The debate between resort owners and those pleading the farmers' cause grew unpleasant. A spokesman for the Tahoe people declared that his constituents would deal only with individual farmers and would not be bound by any agreement with any government agency—specifically the Reclamation Service. His statements so irritated Director Davis that he twice flung veiled accusations of "liar."

Then, witnesses at the hearing drew on their memories to recite the history of spoliation at Tahoe. They told stories of the rape of the forest lands in the basin and of the dumping of sawdust into the lake by lumbermen which resulted in large kills of fish. Governor Boyle, supporting the farmers, reminded the audience that the resort owners' ancestors had been responsible for the damage, that "it was the forebears of the protesting Californians, who now want Tahoe to remain undefiled and untarnished, who thus despoiled the thing they now cherish." Boyle also recalled that his father, a Nevada state senator, had at one time suggested pushing a tunnel into the mountain lake 100 feet below the surface, thus to obtain water for Virginia City's residents. "To the Nevada legislature's infinite credit, my father's petition was denied," Boyle observed, "but the father of the present Mr. Bliss . . . was the man responsible for the removal of the timber around the lake, an act just as predatory as the one proposed by my father."<sup>18</sup>

In further support of the farmers, State Engineer Scrugham refuted claims by the Tahoe people that the farmers proposed to drain the lake. They only wanted their "just due," he pleaded. Estimates of the water needed were then between .3 of an inch and two inches, an amount that would send about 12,000 acre feet down the Truckee. Scrugham also explained that one cause of the water shortage was that debris had been allowed to accumulate at the site of the old dam which inhibited the Truckee River's flow from the lake. He suggested that at least the obstructions could be

cleared and warned that unless this were done, "the bar will increase year by year and will finally entirely obstruct the flow." He proposed finally that an impartial board determine the true rim and level of the lake.

Other experts testified in the same vein for the farmers. Giving an historical basis to his case, Director Davis stated that clearing the channel would return the lake's level and the river's flow to the 1913 status. He also endorsed the request for an impartial adjudication of the lake's altitude.

Following the engineers and water experts, several Churchill County farmers related their hardships in the thirsty season, declaring that their crops had burned in the hot desert sun for lack of irrigation. One individual estimated the damage at more than \$50,000 and warned that failure to obtain irrigation water would result in another \$100,000 loss; others put the possible damage at more than twice that amount.

Finally, Project Manager John Richardson warned that there was enough water in Churchill County's Lahontan reservoir to turn the power turbines for only another week. After that, the plant would be idle, all electric motors would be stilled, and householders would need to resort to kerosene for lighting.<sup>19</sup>

Following the heated July 30 meeting at Reno, the Secretary of the Interior ordered the clearing of the Truckee River channel—but not the trimming of the lake's rim—to allow some of the water to reach the Newlands Project farms. Residents of the Newlands Project hoped that the benefits from this work would at least include electric power, since the turbines at Lahontan reservoir had, as feared, been shut down for lack of water to turn them. The work was performed under the vigilant supervision of a committee of lakeside property owners who feared the desperate farmers would yet sever the lake's edge.<sup>20</sup>

All the action in the Sierra Nevada received nationwide attention and comment. The *Saturday Evening Post* carried an article defending the lake-shore residents in their attempts to preserve Tahoe's beauty. The *Post* author also noted the alliance of farmers and utility executives in the quest for Tahoe water:

It looks all right to use water for power before it goes to irrigation, . . . but much of this water is delivered for power at times of the year when it is not used for irrigation, instead of being stored against the need, and runs down hill and is wasted. That's why . . . I do not believe the interests involved, after twelve years of repeated attempts, have suddenly seen the light. . . .<sup>21</sup>

The same author declared the farmers more selfish than the resort operators, offering his observations of the uses of the lake:

In the course of [the] controversy . . . certain power interests and reclamation officials tried to rouse public sentiment by the statement that the millionaires of Lake Tahoe were trying to keep the waters from the poor farmer. There may be millionaires,

but it seems to me that Lake Tahoe is used by more people of limited means than any other similar place. . . .<sup>22</sup>

The Newlands Project spokesmen, editor of the *Fallon Standard*, declared the piece "propaganda pure and simple" but did not answer the charge that the farmers were cat's-paws for the utilities.<sup>23</sup> The same editor had rather more violent comments to direct to the Tahoe men, suggesting that perhaps a dose of Kentucky-style night-riding might bring them to their senses. He continued:

Crops have gone to ruin in this . . . area because it pleases a select bunch of Lake Tahoe resort owners to thus decree. Homes, happiness, and prosperity mean nothing to them, yet it may be well for them to bear in mind that men have killed when their stock ranges were despoiled; that self-preservation is nature's first law and that the red-blooded head of a family will not meekly sanction a situation wherein his home building efforts are set at naught. The present situation is intolerable. . . . The results that may attend here in the event California people have their own sweet pleasure served in the Lake Tahoe matter are certainly ominous and . . . fraught with consequences that cannot be foretold.<sup>24</sup>

In late August, the summer's drought ended, but it ended badly in the short run. A sudden storm brought nearly two inches of rain which soaked grain which was ready for threshing and hay in shocks. The record rainfall caused other damage over the area; roads became impassable, roofs formerly not tested proved leaky. The sole beneficial effect of the rain was that the power plant at Lahontan could operate again; it gave Fallon its first stable electricity in some two or three weeks.<sup>25</sup>

In the longer view, the result of the summer's conflict was to initiate discussions leading to more realistic agreements about Tahoe and Truckee River waters. In 1926, a temporary order in the case of *United States v. Orr Water Ditch Company* was issued for a preliminary adjudication of the lake and stream question. The dam at Tahoe's outlet remained at its original six-foot height, which allowed storage of irrigation water and a flow of 3,000 cubic feet per second down the river to the Newlands Project farms. The order became permanent in 1944, giving the Truckee-Carson Irrigation District claim to some 720,000 acre feet of storage in the lake and setting Tahoe's altitude at a constant level.<sup>26</sup> With this settlement, resort operators, farmers, power companies, and preservers of Tahoe's scenic marvels, while not completely satisfied, might agree that each had benefitted from the events of the hot summer of 1920.



## NOTES

1. *Truckee-Carson-Lake Tahoe Project*, U. S., 62 Cong., 2 sess., 1912. H. Doc. 451, pp. 8-9.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
3. *Congressional Record*, U. S., 56 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. 33, part 1, p. 762 (January 11, 1900); *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 22, 1900, pp. 2-3.
4. *Truckee-Carson-Lake Tahoe Project*, p. 10.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
6. *Churchill County Standard* (Fallon, Nevada), March 7, 1919, p. 3.
7. Frank Sanford Scott, Jr., "An Economic Analysis of Irrigation Development with Particular Reference to Multiple-Purpose Development of the Truckee-Carson River System in Western Nevada," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1953, pp. 80-86; Mary Ellen Glass, "The First Nationally Sponsored Arid Land Reclamation Project: The Newlands Act in Churchill County, Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, XIV:1 (Spring, 1971), 3-12.
8. *Truckee-Carson-Lake Tahoe Project*, p. 53.
9. Carl A. Pagter and Cameron W. Wolfe, Jr., "Comment, Lake Tahoe: The Future of a National Asset—Land Use, Water, and Pollution," *California Law Review*, Vol. 52, no. 3 (August, 1964), 578-80; Scott, "Economic Analysis," pp. 25-28.
10. *Churchill County Standard*, April 2, 1919, p. 1.
11. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1920, pp. 1, 2.
12. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1920, p. 1.
13. *Fallon Standard* (Fallon, Nevada), July 15, 1920, p. 1.
14. *Ibid.*, July 22, 1920, *passim*.
15. Letter, R. M. Patrick to Chief of Construction, USRS, Fallon, Nevada, August 13, 1919. Truckee-Carson Irrigation District records, University of Nevada, Reno, Library; hereafter cited as TCID Papers.
16. Voucher files, Summer, 1919. TCID papers.
17. FY 1920 vouchers: No. 9365, January 16, 1920, to Howard B. Davis and Carolyn Davis, \$600; No. 9366, January 16, 1920, to Nicholas E. Flick, \$1500; No. 919, March 1, 1920, to Charles E. Bugg and Laura A. Bugg, \$300. All purchases in the Carnelian Bay area. TCID papers.
18. Emmet Boyle's father was not the first to propose a tunnel plan for Lake Tahoe. As early as 1866 A. W. Von Schmidt, an engineer, had offered a plan to supply San Francisco with water by tunnelling through the Sierra to tap the lake. The plan failed because San Francisco's mayor failed to approve a bond issue. Similar proposals in years afterwards met like fates. See Pagter and Wolfe, *California Law Review*, p. 578.
19. *Fallon Standard*, August 5, 1920, pp. 1, 3.
20. *Ibid.*, August 12, 1920, p. 1.
21. Stewart Edward White, "Easy Dollar! Shoot it Quick!" *Saturday Evening Post*, Vol. 193, no. 7 (August 14, 1920), 90.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
23. *Fallon Standard*, August 19, 1920, p. 1.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
25. *Ibid.*, August 26, 1920, p. 1.
26. "Report of the Lake Tahoe Joint Study Committee," March, 1967. n.p. In University of Nevada Library, Reno.

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University, celebrating 200 years of  
California history.*

## Stages of California's Economic Growth, 1870-1970: An Interpretation

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ANYONE WHO ATTEMPTS to survey California's economic development over the past one hundred years does so with a certain amount of trepidation. The historical literature concerning the subject is sparse, indeed. Most aspects remain unexplored and constitute a virgin field. But the dearth of scholarly books and articles not only poses problems. It also invites speculation.<sup>1</sup> If the time for an historical synthesis concerning California's economic growth is premature, perhaps it is ripe for a sketch which can serve as an outline map in delineating broad contours and dimensions.

This essay is designed as an exploratory venture and seeks to do nothing more than to draw attention to an obviously neglected, if vital aspect of California's history. My purpose is to probe, to stimulate, and to provoke, to suggest a framework for interpretation rather than a definitive treatment of the subject. With appropriate apologies, then, I venture to present a cursory analysis of California's economic growth, one which, hopefully, future historians will amplify. My presentation is divided into three parts. First, I wish to suggest a conceptual framework for examining the historical development of California's economy. Secondly, I want to substantiate my hypothesis with historical illustrations drawn from the experience of the state. As I perceive it, California between 1870 and 1970 underwent three stages of economic development. An Agricultural Economy dominated the years from 1870 to 1900; an Industrial Economy characterized the period from the turn of the century to 1940; and from World War II to 1970 California was a prime example of a Technological Economy. Finally, it may be pertinent to note major consequences of a truly remarkable century of economic growth.

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Scholars seeking a framework within which to examine California's economic history are quickly confronted by a central question. Was California's economic growth unique? Or was it an exception in comparison to

other states?<sup>22</sup> This essay seeks to develop the view that California's economic evolution has not constituted an exception to the growth patterns found elsewhere in the United States. Rather, the state has usually been ahead of other areas by about one generation. In its basic attributes California has mirrored consequent American development. As California went, so did the nation. California today is the United States tomorrow. This has been true not only of more recent times but since the early days of statehood. It may be well to explain the reasons for this trend and to illustrate how it came to be.

Historically, three forces have operated to shape the nature of California's economy: environment and climate, population, and technology. Because of its enormous variation and great versatility, California's environment and climate have operated as a constant challenge to social and technological inventiveness. This rich diversity in itself generated a selective process of migration. It brought the state a highly selected sample of Americans. Thus the diversity of the state's resources and climate was matched by an almost equal diversity of its people. Over the years this population has revealed enormous bursts of energy and much resourcefulness in the solution of a wide range of obstacles and problems. That the early settlers caught this spirit and had an appreciation of the process is well revealed by the famous inscription on a state building in Sacramento: "Bring me Men to Match My Mountains."

In addition to factors such as environment and the character of California's population, technology helped to shape the state's development. Throughout its history California has been an outstanding example of the peculiar American genius for the application of technology to modify the natural environment. In its enormous achievements as well as in its colossal failures, in its pioneering industries as in the creation of serious ecological problems, California's economy has been "Exhibit A" of the American economy. And the interplay of technology with environment set other social processes into motion which further contributed to the peculiar configuration of influences that has formed and reformed California through the years. In short, because of its great variation, California's environment and climate have operated as a constant challenge to social and technological inventiveness. This in itself created selective forces in the attraction of newcomers. Environmental and human diversity—combined with technological innovation—thus were key elements in the stimulation of California's economic growth.

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How did these processes operate during the last one hundred years? It is possible to discern at least three stages in the economic development of the state. Each of these presaged patterns of national economic growth by several decades. In the years between 1870 and 1900 California was characterized by an Agricultural Economy as the extensive application of technology

produced the most highly commercialized form of farming in America. Then, between 1900 and 1940 California developed an Industrial Economy when manufacturing, in addition to agriculture, provided a major source of the state's income.<sup>3</sup> World War II inaugurated the Technological Economy (1940-1970) as California spawned an affluent society based on a highly sophisticated scientific industrial complex which was envied and emulated by the rest of the nation. In each of these periods the active interplay of environmental and technological forces produced California's peculiar characteristics and foreshadowed the shape of the nation's economy a generation later.

### *The Agricultural Economy (1870-1900)*

During the last three decades of the nineteenth century California's economic growth was sparked by the emergence of a highly commercialized form of agriculture. These were the years when enterprising businessmen and farmers first realized the enormous agricultural potential of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys with vast stretches of fertile as well as arid soils and the advantages of a two-season climate. Land speculators like William S. Chapman, businessmen like Isaac Friedländer, and large ranchers like Dr. Hugh Glenn realized that the adaptation of new technology would be a key to unlock California's agricultural wealth. This period thus witnessed bold and imaginative innovation to adapt farm machinery to California's peculiar environment. The result was the creation of what Carey McWilliams aptly designated as factories in the fields, a form of highly commercialized farming which was unique only in that it presaged a similar pattern elsewhere in the United States in ensuing decades.

Two major products became dominant during this period, wheat and fruit. Wheat was the most profitable of the state's crops as California between 1870 and 1900 became one of the largest grain producers in the nation. Then, as the soils of extensive wheat lands were exhausted, producers subdivided them to engage in horticulture. Agriculture thus came to provide a firm foundation for the state's economy although mining operations continued to contribute a significant portion of its total income.

Wheat proved to be as great a boon to California's economy as gold had been in an earlier era. California produced a hard, dry and unusually white wheat that became particularly popular on the Liverpool Corn Exchange. Environment, entrepreneurship, and technology combined to support the claim of the editor of the *California Farmer* in 1869 that "California is now esteemed the granary of the world." Climate and topography were conditioning factors for large-scale wheat culture. Between May 10 and November 1, no rain was expected in California, so grain could easily be harvested, threshed, and sacked without fear of losses. Long, hot summers also cured wheat as it ripened and precluded spoilage. The dryness of the summer sea-

son also enabled farmers to let their grains stand even after ripening. This made ranches of great size possible, ranging from 7000 to 35,000 acres. But the initiative for California's entry into world wheat markets was taken by a restless group of San Francisco merchants in 1860, spurred by what they considered to be the state's isolation from lucrative eastern and international marketing outlets. After more than a decade of strenuous efforts, by 1875 they succeeded in capturing a large share of the British wheat trade. At the same time, middlemen like the grain broker Isaac Friedländer brought ship owners, bankers, and grain growers together to facilitate increasingly large California wheat exports to England and to establish stable institutional mechanisms for the operation of the grain traffic. After the turn of the century wheat exports began a rapid decline, prompted by intense Canadian and Russian competition, lower prices, and declining grain yields due to soil exhaustion.<sup>4</sup>

If California's restless entrepreneurs sparked a boom in wheat, this was possible only because equally adventurous farmers were sufficiently enterprising to adapt existing technology to the peculiarities of the California environment. They developed huge plows drawn by dozens of horses. To handle ripe grains they built new header-thresher machines which combined harvesting and threshing into one simultaneous operation. Increasingly, threshing operations in California were powered by portable steam engines. Such large-scale harvesting equipment on the Pacific Coast amazed farmers in other sections of the country who turned to similar types of mechanization a generation later.

The Glenn Ranch in northern California provided an excellent example of the interaction of environment, innovation, and technology. A former dentist, Dr. Hugh Glenn in 1880 was perhaps the largest wheat rancher in the world. He owned 66,000 acres of land in Colusa County which stretched as far as sixteen miles along the Sacramento River. In that year he raised more than one million bushels of wheat on his vast domains on which he operated six giant steam threshing machines and sixty headers worth more than \$100,000. He also had his own blacksmith shops which were capable of manufacturing special agricultural implements to suit the unique needs of his large enterprise. One of his blacksmiths, George Hoag, built a new mammoth separator which had a threshing capacity six times as great as those of standard machines then on the market. Glenn conducted one of the most highly mechanized farming operations in the United States and served to foreshadow California's new form of agriculture.<sup>5</sup>

During this period horticulture grew to become another highly commercialized form of farming in California. By 1900 the state's booming population brought a great rise in land prices but also made wheat less profitable and contributed to its decline. Sometime about 1880 many agriculturists in the Central Valley and in Southern California therefore began to convert to fruit. Soil and climate were obviously conducive to such conversion which was



also accompanied by highly skilled application of technology. Pioneers like Arpad Haraszthy laid the foundations for the wine industry. Others performed similar services for large-scale fruit growing, including peaches, apricots, cherries, plums and pears. Even more important were citrus fruits like oranges and lemons as innovators like Mrs. Eliza Tibbett of Riverside made their profitable production possible.<sup>6</sup>

If the fruit industry rose to a place of economic eminence, this was due to numerous contributions of science and technology. Scientific eradication of diseases such as white scale was crucial, for it threatened to destroy entire fruit harvests. The newly formed State Board of Horticulture in 1883 was active in the introduction of beneficial insects and in imposing quarantines to contain various blights. Nor could the conversion of wheat to fruit have come without the construction of a complicated network of irrigation works and canals. Of course Californians were not the first to develop irrigation, but the size, scale, and ingenuity of what they constructed constituted one of the agricultural marvels of the age. And the fruit industry could hardly have expanded to major proportions as quickly as it did had it not been for the invention of the refrigerator car. After 1880 this seemingly simple device generated a complicated chain of circumstances on the West Coast. It made it possible for California fruit growers to reach lucrative eastern markets which they had never been able to do before. Without access to these markets it is doubtful whether the industry could have grown significantly.<sup>7</sup> The highly commercialized form of horticulture pioneered by Californians during this period was adapted by other regions in the United States a generation later, as new urban markets created an increasing demand for fruit.

During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, then, agriculture dominated the economic growth of California. The state's advantageous soil and climate were shrewdly exploited by an innovative group of farmers and businessmen who skilfully applied new scientific and technological methods to create a highly commercialized form of agriculture. Wheat and fruit were the major products of the era, but the agricultural foundations laid during this period opened visions for expansion into many new spheres of farming. And the time for such expansion was ripe, for California and the nation were just on the threshold of vast urban growth which created new markets for fruit growers everywhere. California agriculture thus provided a model for commercialized farming throughout the United States.

### *The Industrial Economy (1900-1940)*

Sometime about the turn of the century the rapid increase of California's population resulted in a broadening of its economy. To be sure, commercial agriculture continued to be an important aspect of the state's economic life. But with each passing year new income was generated by the growth of manufacturing, by petroleum, and by burgeoning service industries, includ-

ing tourism and motion pictures. In addition, striking innovations in the field of banking provided much of the capital needed to further this expansion, lessening California's dependence on foreign or eastern financiers. If California's economic growth opened new perspectives, the process of economic change was similar to earlier periods. The state's wondrous and diverse array of resources and climates operated to draw adventurous entrepreneurs within its borders who revealed great resourcefulness in applying technology to their new environment. The increasing diversity of California in many ways mirrored the future of the national economy.

The great farm boom of this period was particularly pronounced in Southern California where citrus fruits and vegetable farming expanded to unprecedented proportions. The number of California farms doubled between 1900 and 1940, reflecting more intensive soil exploitation. Citrus production increased some tenfold and centered in the southern part of the state—in San Gabriel, Pasadena, Redlands, Riverside, Santa Ana, Los Angeles, and San Bernardino counties. Success came, however, not only because of beneficial soils and climate. It was also due to the extraordinary acumen of California growers who applied scientific and organizational skills to the expansion of this great industry. C. C. Chapman, for example, pioneered with a new strain known as the Valencia orange, especially suited to the California climate since it matured in summer and in early fall. G. W. Garcelon of Riverside successfully developed new varieties of lemons, bred to suit California's climatic and marketing conditions. Establishment of the Citrus Research Station at Riverside under auspices of the University of California in 1907 greatly facilitated the application of scientific advances in California's citrus industry. It also made possible large-scale orange production in central and northern California. In addition, California fruit growers devised new and large organizations to facilitate their marketing—a key element in their success. The California Fruit Growers Exchange, founded in 1905, was an outstanding example of this type of business cooperative, although there were scores of similar smaller organizations functioning during these years.

The growth of cities in the state gave an enormous impetus to truck and dairy farming. Production of grapes, raisins, prunes, walnuts, apricots, cherries, pears, and peaches, to name only a few, increased more than tenfold during these forty years. By 1940 California was shipping more than 100,000 railroad cars of fruit out of the state annually. Vegetable crops increased in similar proportions. Nor should the contributions of newcomers who built a major fishing and canning industry during the period be ignored. California thus came to be the major purveyor of foodstuffs to the nation's urban centers. An increasingly larger percentage of the total fruit and vegetable crop was either canned, dried, or processed. In every instance, assiduous experimentation with new strains or with scientific growing methods, together with imaginative new ways of marketing and processing contributed to the

rapid expansion of one of the state's major industries.<sup>8</sup> And the example of the California food growers and processors served as a model for commercialized agriculture throughout the country.

The era also witnessed a great expansion of manufacturing in California. In 1900 the state ranked twelfth among the states in manufacturing; by 1940 it was eighth. A continued influx of population into California brought new human skills as well as much needed capital which sparked a significant spurt in manufacturing. And climate, of course, was an added incentive to the location of new factories in California. The growth of industry was due to population expansion on the Pacific Coast and in the trans-Mississippi West which created nearby, or at least easily accessible, markets. Perhaps the technological innovations of Californians in manufacturing were less significant than their adroit use of climate and environment to stimulate capital investment in new industries and to attract a specialized and skilled labor force. At the turn of the century most industries were engaged in the processing of raw materials and included sugar refineries, flour mills, saw mills, and canneries. By World War I great diversification was under way, however, as at least eighty other manufactures added to the state's total income. Until that time California's lack of coal had been a real handicap to industrialization, since steam was the major form of power during much of the nineteenth century. But as petroleum, natural gas, and electricity came to be major sources of energy, California's erstwhile problem vanished since the state had ample supplies of each. As a result, availability of these new sources of power helped to stimulate manufacturing which came to provide an annual income of about \$1 billion, or one-third of California's yearly income on the eve of World War II. Automobile assembly plants as well as auxiliary automobile service industries came to dot the California landscape, while in the south enterprising businessmen began aircraft manufacturing just after World War I. The range of California's factory products grew yearly in this stage of its development.<sup>9</sup>

Of the various new industries petroleum early became important. In 1900 state production was a mere four million barrels. Forty years later it was four hundred million barrels. Once more the diversity of California's resources opened still another avenue of economic growth. Oil seepages, of course, had been known to occur since the early days of Spanish exploration. During the Civil War decade another flurry of oil exploration occurred when various easterners including President Tom Scott of the Pennsylvania Railroad and Professor Benjamin Silliman, Jr., of Yale University actively sought oil in Southern California. But large-scale exploitation of petroleum in California did not begin until the opening of the twentieth century. Then the kerosene and gasoline needs of the substantial population and the demand for lubricants by manufacturers created important new markets for oil. It did not take enterprising businessmen like E. L. Doheny or the Stewart

brothers (founders of the Union Oil Company) long to discern the potential profitability of California's oil reserves. Doheny in particular realized that petroleum products could solve the chronic coal shortage problem of most western railroads if technological means for their effective utilization could be developed. In the absence of extensive western coal deposits they had been forced for three decades to rely on distant and expensive eastern supplies. Together with officials of the Santa Fe Railroad Doheny encouraged scientific research which by the turn of the century led the Southern Pacific as well as the Santa Fe Railroad to convert to diesel oil-burning locomotives. Within a decade most of the nation's rail carriers followed the California example. The state's oil development was further stimulated by the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 which made cheap transportation and access to East Coast markets more readily available. By 1900, therefore, extensive drilling in central and southern California was under way, particularly in Kern County, Los Angeles, and Long Beach. During the next forty years California consistently ranked among the five leading oil producing states in the nation.<sup>10</sup>

Part of the success of California oil men was due to their ingenuity in applying new scientific methods to increasingly complex production and refining processes. Large companies such as the Standard Oil Company of California pioneered with the conscious utilization of scientific research in the improvement of oil production and refining. But scores of individuals and smaller corporations often showed themselves to be no less innovative. This was especially true of the first efforts in offshore drilling on the tidelands which unexpectedly were discovered to contain lucrative oil reserves. Although offshore drilling had been begun off Santa Barbara in 1896, it was not until 1920 that it became an important enterprise along the Pacific coast, particularly in the Long Beach area. The post-World War I decade witnessed a veritable boom in oil drilling in California with the tapping of new major fields.<sup>11</sup> The growth of the petroleum industry followed a by-now familiar pattern. A precious natural resource attracted imaginative entrepreneurs, and their skilful adaptation of available technology for its exploitation laid the basis for another of the state's important industries.

The making of motion pictures also came to be a significant part of California's economy. Both environment and climate were eminently suitable for the large-scale production of moving pictures. California contains almost every conceivable kind of landscape or climate. Within a short radius of one hundred miles in the Los Angeles area were oceans, beaches, mountains, valleys, deserts, and swamps, large cities as well as small hamlets, all within easy reach. And year-round mild temperatures permitted optimum production schedules for the shooting of outdoor scenes. Moreover, California's highly diverse population provided a reservoir of talent from which movie producers could draw at will. That daring and adventurous sense of innova-

tion which had already characterized the growth of other spheres of the state's economy must have beckoned like a beacon to the early motion picture entrepreneurs, men like Louis B. Mayer, the Warner brothers, and Cecil B. DeMille, as in the decade after World War I they built Hollywood into the world's motion picture capital.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps not all of their innovations were original, whether in lighting, staging, photography, or projection, but their vast new companies developed them on an unprecedented scale which set standards not only in the United States but around the globe.

No survey of California's economic growth can ignore the contributions of the service industries during the twentieth century. Of these tourism early came to take on major dimensions. The scenic natural wonders of California and its balmy climates early made it a favorite vacation spot for the wealthy. And California's enterprising businessmen did not wait long to take advantage of the favorable environment. By 1900 a number of first-class hotels had been built which, together with the publicity campaigns of the state's two major railroads, stimulated an increasing number of tourists to visit the Pacific Coast. The Florence Hotel in San Diego and the Coronado were prototypes of the splendid California hostelrys with vast parks and gardens that attracted well-to-do easterners.<sup>13</sup>

But the most significant boost in tourism came with the automobile revolution of the twenties. The motor car made California one of the vacation centers of America, not only for the classes, but now for the masses. California's lawmakers during these years saw the opportunities of tourism and sought to capitalize upon their advantages by authorizing the construction of the most advanced highway system in the country—to be imitated by many other states in the future. Meanwhile, service industries such as gasoline stations, motor courts, restaurants, and hotels underwent enormous expansion.<sup>14</sup> The configuration of service industries developed in California between 1900 and 1940 presaged similar trends elsewhere in the United States during ensuing decades. Once more California paced the nation.

It is doubtful whether California's great economic growth during the first four decades of the twentieth century could have proceeded as rapidly as it did if it had not been facilitated by extraordinary innovations in finance. Until the First World War California was dependent to a large extent on eastern as well as on foreign capital. Indeed, the state's position was not wholly unlike that of an underdeveloped nation, a colony subject to control by outside financiers such as Wall Street. But the acceleration of California's economic expansion after 1919 acted as a spur to scores of imaginative bankers who perceived the enormous potentials yet to be exploited. Some of them, like Joseph Sartori of the Security Savings Bank and Trust Company, greatly strengthened the state's banking institutions by a series of shrewd mergers. Such consolidations provided more investment capital for use within the state, thus lessening dependence on outsiders. Perhaps the



most brilliant and daring financial innovations were made by A. P. Giannini of the fledgling Bank of Italy (founded in 1904). By skilful and adroit use of the technique of branch banking—known for many years but not used widely in the United States—in ten short years after 1919 Giannini made the Bank of Italy (after 1933 known as the Bank of America) the largest in California. By the time of the Second World War it was one of the biggest in the trans-Mississippi West. Thereafter it grew to be one of the banking giants of the nation, and indeed, the entire world.<sup>15</sup> The stupendous expansion of the Bank of America helped to free California from its heavy reliance on outside capital and contributed to an acceleration of the pace of economic growth. For the first time in a century it ameliorated a chronic shortage of investment capital. And by 1940 the Bank of America provided a striking example of the flexibility of branch banking, an example that was followed by bankers in every part of the country within twenty years.

On the eve of World War II the maturation of California's Industrial Economy signified another distinct stage in the state's fabulous economic growth. To the firm foundations of agriculture and extractive mineral enterprises a generation of innovative entrepreneurs had added a wide range of manufacturing industries. Environment and climate, access to lucrative markets, and utilization of advanced technology helped in fostering California's industries. In its diversity as well as in its emphasis on innovation California industry in 1940 foreshadowed similar developments in other parts of the United States in succeeding years.

#### *The Technological Economy (1940-1970)*

It was in the midst of the Second World War that California, ahead of much of the nation, entered upon a new phase of its economic development. The war hastened the emergence of a technological economy, an economy not based so much on the exploitation of raw materials as on scientific and technological inventions. This new era brought California into an age of affluence. To be sure, some of California's basic industries continued to be of vital importance and underwent continued expansion. This was true of agriculture, manufacturing, and the increasingly important service industries. But the postwar boom was stimulated especially by the rapid rise of computer and aerospace industries which catapulted California into first position as the nation's most populous state, and, if projections materialize, by 1980 also the wealthiest. As in earlier years, natural environment, a highly skilled and mobile population, and effective application of technology combined to inaugurate the new age. Geographical factors and the mild climate did much to attract a variety of specialized skills and talents, including those of scientists and engineers. Salubrious climate was also an important magnet in drawing technological industries which depended primarily on highly specialized skills. And the existence in California of a well developed education-

al system at virtually every level which trained and retrained a constant stream of skilled labor served as a key whereby the findings of science and technology could be quickly adapted to foster the state's economic growth even more effectively than in former years. The technological complex and its consequent life styles which Californians created in the quarter century after World War II became a prototype of the eventual economic and cultural life patterns of a vast majority of Americans.

After 1940 California's agri-business reached unprecedented heights. It still constituted the largest single industry in the state as in 1970 the annual value of farm products exceeded \$4 billions. When the activities of related industries such as canning and processing are considered, the total income generated by farming totalled as much as \$13 billions yearly.<sup>16</sup> Although California produced more than three hundred important crops, its farmers emphasized fruits and vegetables, dairy products, cotton, poultry, and beef. That California's diverse climates allowed for year-round production and for the most diverse array of crops to be found anywhere helped to account for the state's predominance in American agriculture. Moreover, the rationalization of production by utilization of scientific and technological methods capitalized on the advantages offered by environment and led California to boast of the nation's most highly commercialized agriculture.

Much of the economic boom between 1940 and 1970 was due to an enormous incursion of new capital through large federal expenditures. Most of these consisted of military and defense appropriations which were channeled primarily into the aerospace and electronics industries. A conservative estimate would consider the total sum spent by the federal government in California between 1940 and 1970 to be at least \$100 billions, more than in any other state.<sup>17</sup> That government was contributing an increasingly larger share of new investment capital—in relation to private enterprise—was a major nationwide trend of fiscal policy. But it was more pronounced in California than elsewhere. Once again, California heralded what was to become a national characteristic.

The demands of the Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) made California the leading aerospace center in the United States. Most of the \$8 billions of annual income which this industry brought the state came from federal contracts. North American Aviation, Lockheed, Douglas Aviation, General Dynamics, Northrop, and the Hughes Aircraft companies came to be giant employers. More than half a million Californians found new jobs in aerospace and related industries, and by 1960 they constituted one-third of the state's labor force in manufacturing. Work on guided missiles, jet propulsion, and supersonic flight flourished. If California was pre-eminent in these spheres, it was because familiar processes were at work. Its topography was particularly suitable to aerospace development. California had the vast empty stretches

of the Mohave Desert, on the one hand, and the expanse of the Pacific Ocean, on the other. When combined with a mild and predictable climate such advantages gave the state unrivalled opportunities for testing. And the closeness of these areas to great urban centers which contained conglomerates of scientists and technicians made possible easy access between laboratory and testing ground while at the same time facilitating close communication within the scientific community. Moreover, California's climate helped to attract able scientific talent. A further magnet was the presence of distinguished scientific research facilities at institutions such as the California Institute of Technology, the University of California, and Stanford University. The highly developed public educational system of the state, including the multiversity, promised a steady supply of new and well trained scientists and technicians.<sup>18</sup>

Military expenditures also did much to stimulate a large-scale electronics and automation industry in California. During the 1950's these industries showed a much greater growth rate than any other type of manufacture. Communications equipment, electrical machinery, and scientific instruments became especially important. Facilities such as the United States Air Force Space Laboratory at Inglewood or IBM's huge research complexes at San Jose were prime examples of public and private electronics research enterprises on the Pacific Coast.<sup>19</sup>

A significant portion of California's income, however, was provided by its service industries. More than most states, California became a prototype of the world's first service-oriented economy, one of the first in which perhaps one-half of the labor force was not directly engaged in the production of goods. Reflecting a characteristic trend of an affluent society, increases in California's employment came in services—whether banks, hospitals, or schools. In 1929 the number of individuals engaged in services was forty per cent of the total labor force; by 1967 it was fifty-five per cent in California—somewhat ahead of the national average. Among the service industries tourism became of increasing importance. This was quite understandable in the context of an affluent society in which increasing leisure for the millions beckoned for new ways to while away non-working hours. The tourist complex—embracing automobile service stations and garages, motels and restaurants along seemingly endless miles of freeways was more fully developed in California than elsewhere in the nation, with the possible exception of Florida. But to a greater or lesser extent its pattern was gradually developed along similar lines in many other sections of the country.<sup>20</sup>

By 1970, then, California had developed a Technological Economy which reflected major trends in the nation's economic growth. Great diversity of agricultural as well as industrial production, the very rapid rise of aerospace and computer industries, and the growing importance of service-oriented enterprises heralded the new pattern in the United States and, indeed, in the

more advanced economic nations of the world. If California became the harbinger of things to come, it was due to processes which had been at work since its first settlement to give shape to economic growth. Environment, diverse skills, and sophisticated use of technology combined as they had in earlier years to make California the economic pace-setter of the Western world.

This rapid survey of California's economic development has revealed a bewildering array of changes over the last one hundred years. And yet the processes that have produced these changes have shown a remarkable consistency. Environment, population, and technology have operated as basic conditioning factors to determine the nature of the state's development. Natural environment and climate served as selective factors in determining the character of the people in the state, drawing upon a great diversity of skills and talents from every section of the United States and the globe. Within the broader context of American culture these environmental and social influences combined to maximize the application of technology to the natural and human resources of California. The result was the emergence of tomorrow's society today, of a microcosm of American society one generation ahead of the rest of the country.

The three major stages of California's economic development in the century after 1870 reflected the interplay of environmental, social, cultural, and technological forces. During the era of the Agricultural Economy the magnificent agricultural potential of the Central Valley and of Southern California acted as a challenge to a varied group of entrepreneurs and farmers who skilfully applied science and technology to build the most highly commercialized form of agriculture to be found in the United States. Their feat was equalled and surpassed during the first four decades of the twentieth century when a group of enterprising industrialists laid the foundations for large-scale industry in the state. Skilfully drawing upon the advantages of location and climate they attracted a talented and diversified labor force to California which provided the necessary skills for the creation of hundreds of new industries. At the same time the increases of population brought by these rapid surges of economic expansion in themselves provided new markets which helped to generate new demands for a variety of goods. World War II ended the age of the Industrial Economy and ushered in the Technological Economy as it accelerated the pace of economic change in California. To a considerable extent this was due to the influx of vast federal funds which sparked a boom in every phase of California's economy, but especially in the development of aerospace and electronics industries. Once more California's environment and climate proved to be economic assets. They served as magnets for the location of technologically oriented industries; and also helped to attract the highly skilled labor force necessary for their development. The major stages of California's economic development—embracing

the Agricultural Economy, the Industrial Economy, and the Technological Economy—were not unique in the United States, but they preceded the patterns followed by other areas of the country by about one generation.

\* \* \* \*

One cannot leave the subject of California's economic growth without taking cognizance of some of the grave problems that it has produced. If the state mirrors the attainment of the affluent society in America, at the same time it reflects some of its most elemental flaws. This is not the occasion for a catalogue of errors. But it would not be amiss to note that two of the most fundamental weaknesses of American society during the second half of the twentieth century were first revealed in California—a generation before they seriously became visible in other parts of the nation. One of these problems was of a spiritual nature, the other, physical.

California's culture and society have always revealed a sense of *anomie* in the individual, a feeling of rootlessness or alienation. Considering the enormous growth of the state during the last one hundred years and the great mobility and diversity of its population, perhaps this was inevitable. Californians early felt a loss of that sense of community which now nags Americans everywhere, especially in the great cities. And long before the rest of the country California had its colonies of drop-outs, utopians, and non-conformists. That sense of spiritual insecurity, of loss of community, which is one of the by-products of a culture in a condition of constant flux was clearly reflected in California several decades before it turned into a national malaise. In this sense, too, California mirrored the America of the future.

California's economic growth has also resulted in serious physical problems. By the middle of the twentieth century the state had already become an almost classic example of environmental imbalance brought about by wanton and unplanned applications of science and technology. Smog and air pollution, contamination of the Pacific Ocean, of rivers, lakes, streams, and vegetation, the destruction of wilderness areas and wildlife were more apparent in California after 1950 than elsewhere. California's predicament was not unique, however, but only served as a showcase for a problem that plagued the entire nation. By 1970 it elicited a major nationwide concern. But nowhere else were environmental problems brought about by a technological economy so starkly revealed as in California.

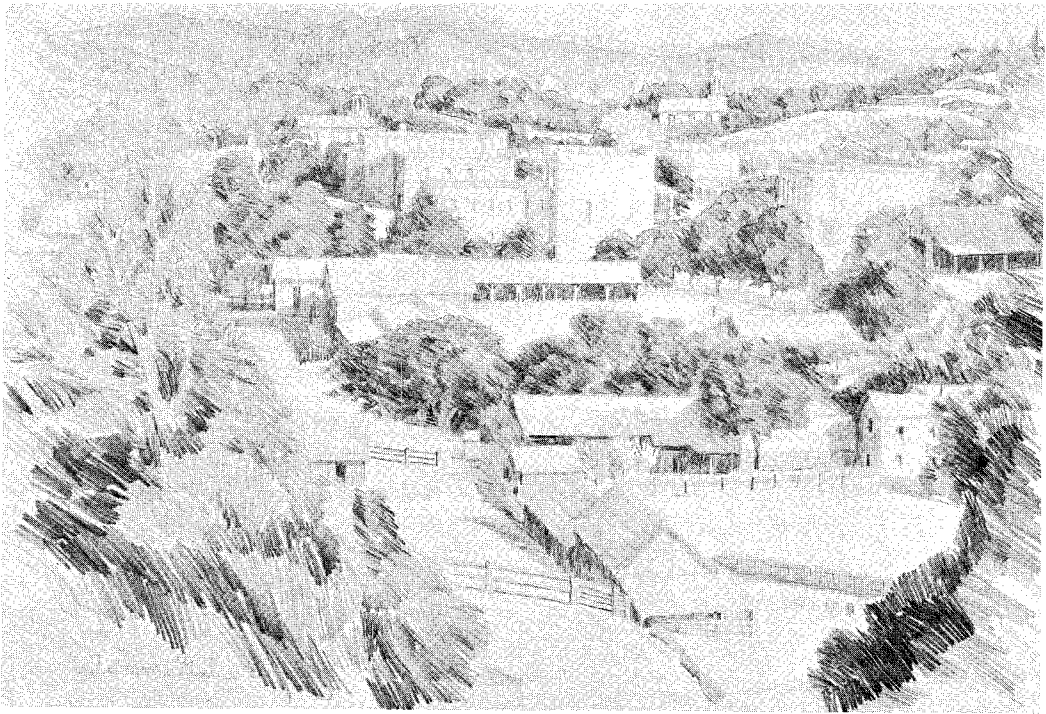
As California goes, so goes the nation! For over a century California's economic development has paced that of the United States. One can only hope that Californians will respond to the problems produced by their economic growth with some of that same ingenuity which they revealed during the various stages of their economic development. If they can rise to the challenge, and if past historical trends are an indication, then perhaps it is not too much to expect that the rest of the nation once again will follow them into similar and, hopefully, constructive paths.



## NOTES

1. For one of the few attempts to assess California's economic development see Forest G. Hill, "The Shaping of California's Industrial Pattern," *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Conference of the Western Economic Association* (1955); see also James J. Parsons, "California Manufacturing," *Geographical Review*, XXXIX (April, 1949), 229-241. Old, but useful, is Robert G. Cleland and Osgood Hardy, *March of Industry* (Los Angeles, 1929).
2. Carey McWilliams, *California, the Great Exception* (New York, 1949); for subsequent modification of his views see Carey McWilliams (ed.), *The California Revolution* (New York, 1969).
3. Cleland and Hardy, *March of Industry*, ch. IV ff.
4. Reynold M. Wik, *Steam Power on the American Farm* (Philadelphia, 1953), 53-54; Rodman Paul, "The Wheat Trade between California and the United Kingdom," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLV (December, 1958), 391-412.
5. Wik, *op. cit.*, 53.
6. Claude B. Hutchinson (ed.), *California Agriculture* (Berkeley, 1946); Osgood Hardy, "Agricultural Changes in California, 1860-1890," *Proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association* (Eugene, Oregon, 1929), 216-230.
7. Gerald D. Nash, *State Government and Economic Development: a History of Administrative Policies in California, 1849-1933* (Berkeley, 1964), 146-150.
8. Erich O. Kraemer and Henry E. Erdman, *History of Cooperation in the Marketing of Fresh, Deciduous Fruits* (Berkeley, 1933), and Rahno Mabel MacCurdy, *The History of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange* (San Francisco, 1925) are relevant.
9. For relevant statistics see U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the United States* (Washington, 1902), 331, and Cleland and Hardy, *March of Industry*, 133-166. See also U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States* (Washington, 1923), 920.
10. Nash, *State Government*, 316-318; Gerald D. Nash, *United States Oil Policy, 1890-1964: Business and Government in Twentieth Century America* (Pittsburgh, 1968), 3-4, 6, 15-18; Cleland and Hardy, *March of Industry*, 179-180; Gerald T. White, *Formative Years in the Far West: a History of Standard Oil Company of California and Its Predecessors through 1919* (New York, 1962), *passim*.
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12. Richard Griffith and Arthur Mayer, *The Movies: the Sixty-year Story of the World of Hollywood and its Effect on America from Pre-Nickelodeon Days to the Present* (New York, 1957).
13. On the general significance of the service industries see Victor R. Fuchs, *The Growing Importance of the Service Industries* (New York, 1965); on tourism note John C. Packard, "San Diego's Early Hotels," *Southern California Quarterly*, L (September, 1968), 267-278.

14. Victor R. Fuchs, *The Service Economy* (New York, 1968), 1-5, 28.
15. Nash, *State Government*, 285-291; Marquis and Bessie R. James, *Biography of a Bank: the Story of Bank of America* (New York, 1954).
16. Paul N. Williams *et al.*, "Green Gold: California's \$3.5 Billion Agricultural Industry," *California*, LIV (Autumn, 1964), 23-51.
17. James L. Clayton, "Defense Spending: Key to California's Growth," *Western Political Quarterly*, XV (June, 1962), 280-293, and another article by the same author, "The Impact of the Cold War on the Economics of California and Utah, 1946-1965," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXVI (November, 1967), 449-473.
18. Frank J. Taylor and Lawton Wright, *Democracy's Air Arsenal* (New York, 1947), is superficial. See also H. O. Stekler, *The Structure and Performance of the Aerospace Industry* (Berkeley, 1965).
19. Annual editions of the *California Statistical Abstract* after 1960 reveal the growing importance of the electronics industry. A general glimpse of manufacturing in California after 1929 is in Victor R. Fuchs, *Changes in the Location of Manufacturing in the United States Since 1929* (New York, 1962).
20. Fuchs, *The Service Economy*, 28; see also Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, *Projections to the Years 1976 and 2000: Economic Growth, Population, Labor Force and Leisure, and Transportation* (Washington, 1962), 419, 421.



# SHASTA REVISITED

*by* Paul C. Johnson

*drawings by* Mabel Moores Frisbie

On a hilly site in the mountains west of Redding stands a row of red brick walls, the windowless and doorless shells of the once-thriving town of Shasta, now preserved in a “state of arrested decay” as a state historical monument. The sun-baked cluster conveys little evidence of the former importance of this settlement, which served as a gateway to the northernmost reaches of California for three bustling decades, beginning in 1849.

Like most pioneer settlements, Shasta left scant visual record of its heyday. To fill this omission, a talented Redding artist, Mabel Moores Frisbie, who grew up in the area during the years of Shasta’s fading glory, has recreated the setting of Shasta in its prime in a series of pencil drawings that depict the town as she knew it in childhood or learned about it from her pioneering family. Trained in art at the College of Arts and Crafts, Oakland, and the extension division of Columbia University, she has converted scratched daguerreotypes and faded photographs into pencil renderings, deftly graced with additions, deletions, and combinations that restore the look and feel of Shasta as it really was.

The following selections are from a book by the artist, with accompanying text by her daughter, Jean Moores Beauchamp, to be published by the California Historical Society for the Shasta Historical Society early next year.

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Shasta, March 3, 1855.

mb31f

*The dozen express companies that set up shop in Shasta were more than package carriers: As precursors to the banks, the firms bought and sold gold dust, issued negotiable notes of redemption for gold deposited with them.*



LEFT: Confident of the future, builders of the Camden Toll Road that led west from Shasta installed permanent milestones of carved sandstone in 1861.





R. Stevenson & Co. Wholesale  
 & Retail Grocers, Groceries, Hardware  
 Charles McDonald Saloon

Charter Oak Hotel

Hotel Charles Gishie

Trinity Alley

In a remarkably short time after the miners came to Shasta, a substantial town metamorphosed. The first business district, constructed of wood, burned down in 33 minutes in 1853. Undaunted, businessmen rebuilt it in brick, of such permanence that some of the walls outlasted the town itself by more than a century. "The most beautiful building in Shasta" (above), the yellow-brick Charter Oak Hotel (1857-1920), contained shops on the first floor, hotel rooms on the second, and a springy ballroom on the third. In its old age, the building was ignominiously dismantled to supply bricks for a steam laundry in Redding.



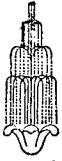


*Services for horse and wagon were essential to this center of "whoa navigation." A painting of a rampant horse on Sam Isaack's blacksmith shop unmistakably identified the function of this shop, one of a multitude of livery shops and stables.*



*The town's leading caravansary for two decades, the Empire Hotel (1857) sheltered many luminaries in its "plastered, large and airy rooms." The Empire was also noted for the comfortable lodgings provided for the travelers' horses in a commodious stable next door.*

## SHASTA BATH ROOMS, And Shaving Saloon.



THE SUBSCRIBER would inform the Shasta public that he has just completed, and elegantly furnished his new "Shasta Bath House and Shaving Saloon," situated on Main Street, two doors below the Eagle Hotel.

He flatters himself that his establishment, in every respect, is superior to anything of the kind ever before seen in Shasta.

### The Bathing Rooms

are separated into two departments—the one for ladies, attended by Mrs. Young, and the other for gentlemen, by myself—with a separate entrance to each department.

The rooms are opened this morning for the first time. The Ladies and Gentlemen of Shasta are requested to call and enjoy a bath in a luxurious style never before experienced in this place.

B. B. YOUNG.

Shasta, April 7, 1855.

ap71f

*The varied needs of Shastans were anticipated by services advertised in three local newspapers. Citizens could "enjoy a bath in a luxurious style never before experienced," or, if need be, order a coffin "made to order at the shortest notice."*

## CARPENTERING, CABINET MAKING, .....AND..... JOBING OF ALL DESCRIPTIONS!



THE UNDERSIGNED, AT THEIR old stand a few doors above Bragg & Isaac's blacksmith shop, are prepared to do all kinds of Carpentering, Cabinet Making and Jobbing with promptness.

**Turning** of all descriptions done to order. Constantly on hand and for sale a large supply of every description of **LUMBER**.



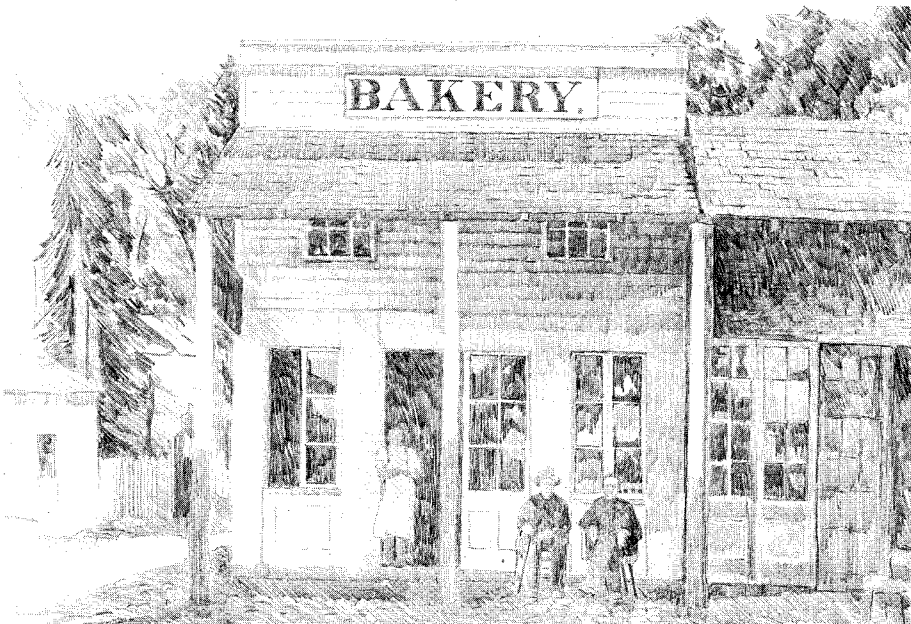
**Coffins** made to order at the shortest notice.

We have also just finished a new **Hearse**, and with it are prepared to attend funerals anywhere in the county.

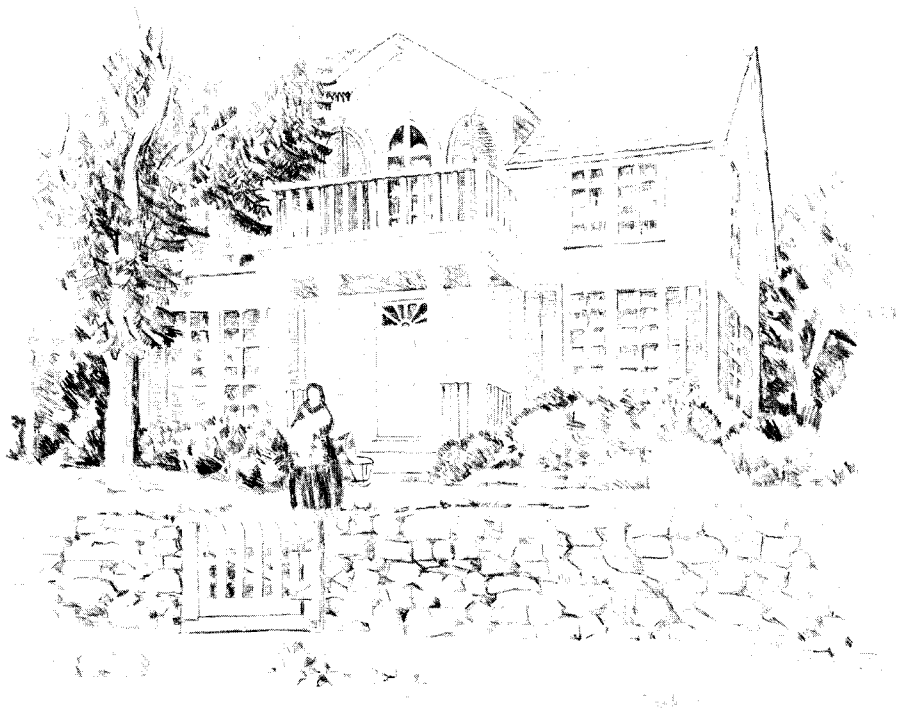
BYSTLE & DURANT.

March 19, 1858.

mh20-3m



*Hungry miners were amply provisioned with hot bread from the ovens of Blum's bakery.*



*Judge Bush purchased this house for his bride in 1856 for \$565.*



*Shasta swiftly grew from a miner's tent colony into an important transportation hub and a busy county seat. In its heyday, it supported a fluctuating population of two to five thousand, depending on the number of transients, and its residents built permanent homes, schools, and churches in anticipation of a secure future.*

*So many children soon played in the dusty streets that three schools were required to marshall them in their ABC's. The gospel arrived early to rescue the backsliding miners. First on the scene, the Methodists built a church and Sunday school in 1852. The Catholics met in a tiny house beginning in 1853 and soon built a chapel on Cemetery Hill.*

*Bedazzled by the town's promising future, the Catholics in 1857 laid the foundations for a great basilica "to be based on Italian renaissance designs." The archbishop traveled from San Francisco to lay the cornerstone and more than a thousand of the faithful came to witness the solemn rites. Sadly, the dream far exceeded the reality, and the basilica was never completed beyond the foundation—which still stands, haunted and weed-grown.*

*In the 1870's the booming town began to falter. The upstart railroad town of Redding lured away its commerce, drew many of its own residents, and—crowning indignity—captured the county seat in 1887. Thereafter, the decline of the town was rapid and inevitable.*



**LEFT:** *Union Church (1860-1926), built from contributions extracted from the town's saints and sinners, replaced the original Methodist church destroyed by fire in 1856. It served for 66 years before it too burned to the ground in 1926.*



*Theodore E. Treutlein*

*Professor Emeritus of History at California State University, San Francisco;  
author of San Francisco Bay: Discovery and Colonization, 1769-1776.*

## Fages as Explorer, 1769-1772

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PEDRO FAGES WAS an explorer of note in the Bay region. He had been a member of the first exploring party, the Portolá expedition of 1769. In 1770 on his own initiative, as lieutenant and military commander of Upper California, he discovered a land route from Monterey to the south end of San Francisco Bay which was shorter by ten leagues than the route which had been opened by Portolá. On 28 November 1770 some of Fages' men, and perhaps Fages himself, looked through the "Golden Gate" from somewhere above Alameda as probably the first of the early explorers to do this. The members of the 1770 Fages expedition are believed by this writer to have been the actual discoverers of the "Gate," and Fages' brief description of the *quantiosa vocana de estero* (large mouth of the estuary) is the first such description from an eye-witness that we have.

Then in 1772 Fages and Crespí left the first detailed description of the "Gate" and the main islands of San Francisco Bay, the record of what they saw in their march along the shore of San Pablo Bay, their views of Carquinez Strait (which they discovered) and of the confluence of waters of the Sacramento and San Joaquin systems (which they also were the first to see). Fages proclaimed in his diary (entry for Monday, 30 March 1772) that Father Chrespy, as he called him, gave the name to the great system, "The Great River of Our Father San Francisco in Northern California." Finally, according to Herbert E. Bolton's conclusion in the Garcés article (cited below), Fages was the discoverer of the south San Joaquin Valley.

The writer first encountered the Fages diary while working through microfilm AGN, Californias, 66-67, Reel 55 (The Bancroft Library), where the diary, along with a letter of transmittal by Fages dated 30 November 1773, may be found. A check on the possible uses which might have been made of the diary by other students revealed the following:

In 1927, Dr. Herbert E. Bolton brought out his *Fray Juan Crespí* wherein he used what he referred to as the Palóu-Figueroa form of the Crespí diary of 1772, along with the "Reason for the Undertaking," taken from what Bolton identified as the Sevilla Ms, the Palóu-Figueroa form without the "Reason" having previously appeared in Bolton's translation of Palóu's *Noticias* (1926). This time, however, in the *Crespí* volume on p. xxv in a



footnote, Bolton stated, "Fages also wrote an excellent diary," but provided no further information about this document.

The present writer in frequent use of the famous Bolton *Guide* had never seen reference to a 1772 Fages diary, and in rechecking the *Guide* found listed there only the Fages diary of 1770 (even though the 1772 diary now under discussion is in the same archive, section, and volume as the earlier Fages diary). In other words, Bolton had seen fit not to include the 1772 diary in the *Guide*. (A possible reason for this omission may be surmised from a study of item #14 in Charles Edward Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (1930), Appendix, p. 502).

Further checking showed mention of the Fages 1772 diary in a master's thesis by Rudolph H. Drewes, *Pedro Fages, California Pioneer* (U.C., 1927) with no citation or evidence of use of the diary.

Then, in the California Historical Society *Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 3 (September, 1931), reference was found to the diary in a Bolton article entitled "In the South San Joaquin Ahead of Garcés," where the diary is mentioned as a *discovery* and also where a part of the diary was used; namely, the *Nota* or addendum, which is actually not a part of the diary proper in specific subject matter, though it is physically a part of the document. In this article Bolton pointed out that "it has not been generally known that Fages also kept a diary of the (1772) journey. He did, it has been discovered and is now available." However, no clue was provided as to the diary's location.

In 1935 the Kern County Historical Society published the same article which had appeared in 1931 in the *CHSQ* as "An Address Delivered Before the Kern County Historical Society in May, 1931" [*sic*]. Again, though a "discovery" of the diary is announced, there is no explanation as to its location.

When Professor H. E. Priestley published *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California by Pedro Fages . . .* (1937), he cited Bolton's use of the *Nota* in the Kern paper (though the *CHSQ* article was not mentioned), but Priestley did not provide a citation for the diary; however, in his Introduction, note #2, p. xi, he asserted that much Fages material still existed in the *Archivo Nacional* (Mexico).

In Priestley's *Franciscan Exploration in California* (1946), (published posthumously, Dr. Priestley having died in 1944), edited by Dr. Lillian Estelle Fisher, one finds for the first time anywhere the complete citation for the 1772 Fages diary, including its location in *AGN*. It is probable that Dr. Fisher had access to a Bolton typescript of the diary (of which, more below), since the microfilm now in The Bancroft Library was not available until June, 1951. It appears to this writer that in the Priestley-Fisher work the diary might have been used as supportive to entries in Crespi's diary for March 26 and 27, 1772, but perhaps not otherwise.

Dr. F. M. Stanger, San Mateo County historian, called this writer's attention to an article by Alan K. Brown, "The Various Journals of Juan Crespí" in *The Americas*, Vol. XXI, No. 4 (April, 1965), which, so far as the writer knows, must be considered the definitive description and analysis of the Crespí diaries. In writing of the 1772 records Dr. Brown states: "Still another version of this journal (i.e., Crespí's diary) is embedded in that of the expedition's commander. Captain Fages' journal is one-half the length of the Mexico text; exactly two-thirds of it corresponds more or less verbatim to Crespí's material. From the movements of the captain and the friar between March and September of 1772, it would seem that Fages might have had access to the material either as rough notes or in final form, but scarcely to the first draft, and in fact the Fages journal occasionally agrees with the Guardian's abridgments against the Mexico text. The approximately 1,870 words that cannot be traced to either source are a problem; many or most are no doubt due to the Captain's own notes or memory, but it is not unlikely that additional material in Crespí's notes was used . . .", pp. 388-389.

The *Key to the Research Materials of Herbert Eugene Bolton*, compiled by Vivian C. Fisher (1961-62) contains (Alta California section, Item #94, Folder #3) a typescript of the Fages diary, along with a rough draft, partly typed and partly in Bolton's handwriting, of the translation of the entries for March 20-24 inclusive, and a smooth draft of the *Nota* which, as stated, had been used in the Garcés article.

Since this diary is thought to be of interest to students of Californiana it is here provided in a translation and with accompanying commentary for which the writer must assume full responsibility. However, he wishes to acknowledge the assistance provided in the preparation of a first draft by Miss Isabel Heredia who compared a photo-copy of the microfilm, a Xerox of the Bolton typescript, and the first draft of this writer's translation in preparing her own most helpful comments.

Then Dr. Alan K. Brown painstakingly went over the document and provided detailed notes, many of which have been utilized in the improvement of the presentation. Of especial value are the indications by Dr. Brown of the particular parts of the diary which differ from Father Crespí's account and of details which add to the information already provided by Crespí. Dr. Brown's conclusions concerning materials "not obviously and directly related to the Crespí texts" are enclosed in (( . . . )).

Some uses of the Fages material may be found in the writer's *San Francisco Bay: Discovery and Colonization, 1769-1776* (California Historical Society, 1968), Ch. 5, p. 39 ff., and in Frank M. Stanger and Alan K. Brown, *Who Discovered the Golden Gate?* (San Mateo County Historical Association, 1969), p. 120 ff.

No effort has been made to "dress up" Fages' rather stilted presentation. It should be noted that though the exploration was from mid-March to early

April, 1772, the Fages diary was not ready for remission to the Viceroy until November 1773. Document #2044 in the Chapman *Catalogue* (microfilm, The Bancroft Library, AGI, Audiencia de Guadalajara, Roll III, Bucareli to Arriaga, 27 October 1772) indicates the Viceroy's dissatisfaction at not having received more direct and clear information from Fages about the "new discoveries." Governor Fages was an extremely busy man, but ultimately got around to writing up his report. In his letter of transmittal, Fages reveals that he was responding to inquiries about New California affairs, but states also that he had already sent some information about the new discoveries in a dispatch of 24 June 1772 to Viceroy Croix, Bucareli's predecessor.

The writer has no doubt that, given time, Professor Bolton would have turned to the Fages diary so as to bring it into print. It is hoped that the publication here of this diary, near in time to the bicentennial of the exploration, will be viewed by readers as an effort to complete a project which Dr. Bolton began many years ago when he first made use of Fages' *Nota*, and that the diary will have interest for those who have read about early explorations of the San Francisco Bay region in publications by Bolton and by others who have interested themselves in this subject.

#### *Notes on translation*

In the diary itself Fages used the word *arroyo* for any kind of stream. In translation this word has been rendered stream, river, or creek, depending upon the context and on the translator's judgment. A similar "solution" was found for Fages' oft-repeated use of the word *bastante*, which is rendered "enough" or "a fair amount," etc. Except for the use of *Yndio* (for Indian) in the title of the diary, Fages always refers to natives as *Jentiles*, translated here as "heathen." *Encino* is translated as "live-oak"; *roble* as "white-oak"; *aliso* as "sycamore." The word *berrendos* has been translated as "antelopes." In the *Nota* Fages refers to *datiles* which Professor Bolton, in his version of the *Nota*, says were the Joshua trees.

A league is a little under three miles. Distances provided in a diary of this sort may not be considered as more than reasonable approximations. A *vara* is just under a yard. Water to the amount of an orange (*naranja*) in the entry for 27 March is the only example of this kind in this diary, but is not unfamiliar in the descriptions of water quantities found in explorers' accounts. The *ensenada* of Point Reyes in the entry for 28 March is now known as the Gulf of the Farallones. The 1769 expedition camped in San Pedro Valley, the Linda Mar of modern Pacifica.

The heathen who were "the most light and fair in color" (entry for 29 March) are described by Fages as "los mas blancos, rubios . . .". The animals referred to as *cibulos* or *Buras* [*sic*] in the 20 March entry were probably mule-deer.

*Notes on the route*

Professor Bolton in his *Crespi* carefully worked out the probable route followed by the explorers in 1772. Using modern place names, the way led across the Salinas River to Salinas, thence to San Juan Bautista, Gilroy, San Martin, Morgan Hill, Coyote, San Jose, Milpitas, and from there at convenient distances from the shores of San Francisco and San Pablo bays, then eastward to the Pittsburg-Antioch locality (which is Fages's "Camp of the Return").

From this camp Bolton had the explorers moving to the Concord Valley, entering north of Clayton, and continuing west to Walnut Creek, down past Danville to the Livermore Valley, and finally re-entering the valley of San Francisco Bay through the Mission Pass. However, it is possible that instead of going westward from the Pittsburg-Antioch camp to Walnut Creek, the party moved more directly southward toward the Livermore Valley, perhaps part of the way along Tassajero Creek.

On the 21st of May, 1771, a viceregal order signed by Viceroy Croix reached Monterey ordering the military commander, Pedro Fages, to undertake, by land or by sea, a reconnaissance of the "Port of San Francisco" so as to establish there a mission, to the end that such an important place be not exposed to foreign occupation. The Port referred to, in the geographical understanding of the times, was supposed to lie under Pt. Reyes. A way would have to be found to it around the great estuary—present San Francisco Bay, whose true nature was not yet appreciated—and this Fages was supposed to accomplish. Fages had already made a try to reach the Port, in 1770, but the Viceroy had not learned of this unsuccessful attempt when he dispatched the order which now caused Fages to lead his second expedition. In March, 1772, in company with Father Juan Crespi, military commander Fages began to carry out his order. The Fages diary, presented in full for the first time, was one of the results of this journey.

THE DIARY WHICH WAS KEPT FROM THE MISSION AND ROYAL PRESIDIO OF THE SEÑOR SAN CARLOS OF THE PORT OF MONTE-REY IN SEARCH OF THE PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO. THE CORPS OF THE EXPEDITION WAS COMPOSED OF THE REVEREND FATHER FRAY JUAN CHRESPY, CAPTAIN DON PEDRO FAGES, FOURTEEN SOLDIERS, AND A CHRISTIAN INDIAN, A PAGE TO THE REVEREND FATHER.

*Friday, March 20, 1772.*

*All of us named above set out from the Presidio Royal at ten thirty in the morning, and traveled toward the southeast to the site and river commonly called Monterey, four leagues distant from the port named. We arrived at the place about two in the afternoon and forded the river with great difficulty because of the volume of water which it carried*

*((and because the sand where we came out of it was very miry. We camped close to the river in its plain, where there was abundant pasturage for the animals.)) During the entire journey we met no heathen except some belonging to Monterey, who were camped on the banks of the lakes at this harbor. This place is the one where the expedition camped the first time, on the 1st of October, 1769.*

*—4 leagues from Monterey.*

*Saturday, 21 March.*

*We set out from the river about six in the morning. We traveled across the plain and after going a short distance we came upon a very miry slough which forced us to detour for about a league in order to find a crossing. We got across it, although with some difficulty for the animals. The passage lay toward the north. Soon afterward we crossed a small creek with quite a bit of water which flowed at the ground level. At the ford we found two little houses very poorly built. The heathen who lived in them took flight as soon as they saw us, and in spite of various efforts which we made to call them they refused to stop, but only ran the harder. We diverted ourselves a while looking at the traps which they had put in the little creek to catch small fish.*

*Not far from this creek, toward the northeast, we saw many large and small lakes, and the soldiers declared that the preceding slough and creek arose from a large lake which we had ahead of us. Toward the northeast at a distance of two leagues a large grove of trees runs down from the mountain, and I conjecture that it was along a creek formed by the lakes. All this land is as level as the palm of the hand.*

*After having traveled four leagues, most of the way toward the northeast, we reached a hill of the mountain, round like a sugar-loaf. ((All the land which we crossed was friable and well covered with grass)), but was lacking firewood. We passed the round hill, leaving it on our right, ((and entered along a stream heavily grown with willows, cottonwoods, underbrush, some live-oaks, and laurels)). After a short distance we encountered a lake which forced us to wind about a great deal, and finally, following the banks of the stream for about two leagues, mainly toward the north, we climbed to a small pass through an opening formed by the fair-sized range, treeless, quite grassy, and apparently of good soil. We descended the same pass and after going half a league entered a little valley through which flows a good small stream whose bed is lined with cottonwoods, sycamores, and willows. The valley and creek were named San Benito. ((On its sides it has small mesas of good soil, well covered with grass and some large white-oaks. The width of this little valley must be a quarter of a league in*



parts, and sometimes less, and its length is about a league and a half)). We must have traveled this day about six and one-half leagues. San Benito.—10 1/2 leagues from Monterey.

Sunday, 22 March.

We left the camp and little valley of San Benito after having heard Mass, and in a short distance came to a spacious valley, very grassy and with good land for wheat. Its length from east to west is three leagues, and its width from north to south is not less than two leagues. It has plenty of firewood, live-oaks, and white-oaks, on the slopes and on the mountains to the south. And on top of the mountain there were many redwoods, which are an excellent wood for working. The creek which we have left behind comes from very high up in the mountain and with little work could be turned across the plain to irrigate it if desired. Just before the end of the valley there runs down from the east a small river with little depth and not much water whose bed must be about eight varas wide. We saw many tracks and sleeping places of bears.

Having crossed the valley in the direction of northeast we entered a hollow of level land in which we came to four lakes and a little spring of running water. After traveling a short distance in the hollow we had to turn to the northwest. The land was covered with grass. We saw antelope, deer, and many cranes. A league after leaving the last hollow we came to another spacious one, level and with very good soil, which must be four leagues wide. Its length is from northwest to southeast, but no one knows where it comes to an end toward the southeast. It has many large lakes of fresh water, several streams of running water which come down from the mountains on one side or the other of the valley. We saw three very large villages ((and at a lake we saw some heathen who were fishing in little rafts (balsitas), and others were hunting ducks)). Along the road we came to a lake of salt water, and along its shores a lot of saltpeter (salitre).

After going two leagues through this valley toward the northwest, we came upon a stream which carried much water and gave us lots of trouble to ford it. Near it was a large village whose inhabitants, as soon as they saw us, raised a hubbub, and since we had to pass near it ((I thought it necessary)) to go ahead with some soldiers ((to see if we could pacify them, but I could not do so)) nor induce them to accept some beads. ((However, some of them did give me feathers and arrows, and I took other arrows)) which were stuck in the earth ((points down as a sign of peace. We reciprocated by leaving beads at the place where the arrows were)).

We continued on our way and soon came upon another stream with a fair amount of water. Having traveled a league we camped by anoth-

er stream with much water that comes down from the mountain we had on our left. From the village which we passed to the camp site the land was ((of excellent friability and)) thickly covered with grass. The streams were heavily grown with sycamores, willows, and some live-oaks. On the floor of the valley we saw many cranes, geese, ducks, ((and deer)); and along its sides were several groves, and in the middle of it a considerable number of very large white oaks. It was a site very suitable for a mission. This day's march was of six leagues, and to the place where we camped was given the name San Bernardino de Siena. —16 1/2 leagues from Monterey.

Monday, 23 March.

We set out from camp at six in the morning toward the northwest and after going two leagues crossed a creek of running water which went from one side to the other of the valley. After two hours travel beyond this the valley narrowed down to some two leagues. We ascended a pass over some low hills well-covered with grass, and descended the other side of the pass where we found a copious running stream. We went on through another very level valley well grown with white-oaks and live-oaks. It is two leagues wide, heavily covered with grass and of good soil. In it some chicory and mallow were gathered. This day we saw many antelopes and some deer. No heathen were seen, though we did see clouds of smoke on the sides, which we thought made by heathen, but we did not see them. We traveled six leagues from our last camp on level and good land; the valley narrowed down a good deal and in this narrow place we came to a good stream of fresh running water where we halted.

From this place we saw that the valley widened out further toward the northwest. Some heathen appeared, but became frightened by the thunder of the firelocks which some soldiers shot at ducks, and began to shout loudly, but in spite of some efforts which were made they would not come near the camp. Very close to where we halted the soldiers saw a large lake of fresh water which the Reverend Father Fray Juan named San Benvenuto.

—22 1/2 leagues from Monterey.

Tuesday, 24 March.

The day dawned very overcast and around half past six we set out from the stream and lake of San Benvenuto, continuing in the same direction as the previous day, which was northwest. ((For about a league we went up and down along the right side of the valley. We turned for about two quarter leagues toward the north in the plain)), which in places was five to six leagues wide. The land appeared to be

very good, and was grass-covered and heavily grown with white-oaks and live-oaks. (( We had to cross a dry stream bed which was, however, thickly grown on the banks with cottonwoods, willows, and other trees which we did not recognize. After going a short distance we crossed )) several marshy places, (( which arose partly as we thought from their nearness to the estuary of San Francisco, and also from some small streams which were on our right and came down from the mountain. These streams caused us to turn north and northeast having on our right and close at hand a small stream. We crossed clear over )) to the foot of the mountain although we encountered some marshy places. Before we halted some eight heathen came out to meet us, well-armed, and (( making gestures at us. Quickly they were joined by several others who came from all directions. We tried to divert them and quiet them, asking by signs where there was water. They answered by accompanying us to a very good little stream )) about half way between two villages, belonging to the same heathen, which were about a fourth of an hour apart. The houses (( were hemispherical )); one village had seven (( and the other nine )). Today we traveled about six leagues. This day many antelope were seen. This place we named La Encarnación.

—28 1/2 leagues from Monterey.

Wednesday, 25 March.

The Day of Annunciation of Our Lady, after hearing Mass, about seven in the morning we took the direction to the north northwest over very level terrain crossing during the journey five creeks with water, and all heavily grown with live-oaks and sycamores. (( We saw in the plain several heathen, shouting as though they were glad to see us )); on our right hand we passed by five villages with about six houses (( of spherical shape )) in each, and quite a number of heathen inhabiting them. (( On our left hand we had some villages; we were not able to see very clearly how many they were or how many houses they had because they were at some distance )). But we could see plainly the estuary that was on our side and, reaching to it, a very level stretch of land of three or four leagues, black and well-covered with grass. Despite having gone this day some eight leagues we were not able to follow the coast of the estuary to its mouth, and made camp on the (( other )) side of the last stream which carried much water. (( From the camp we saw many heathen of both sexes who, according to the signs, were moving their village toward our line of march. Halfway in our journey, to the right of our way, we saw three fairly large lakes of fresh water )). This camp was given the name of San Salvador de Orta.

—36 1/2 leagues from Monterey.

Thursday, 26 March.

We left at six in the morning over level, very grassy terrain, taking the northwest direction followed yesterday through the same extensive plain which has a breadth of about seven leagues, and as we advanced apace we passed several small springs of water ((along the way on the right side)). We crossed three streams, well grown with trees such as ((willows)), cottonwoods, sycamores, live-oaks, and some laurels, and camped on the ((other)) side of the last stream; we were opposite a very big range covered with many savins. In this lived some very large animals with cowlike hooves, bay colored, a completely red neck, and with much hair on the head. They have a tail about a span and a half long and wide, like a small paddle, and very large horns, wide and with six points on each. ((We saw one that must have been about six spans high)). These animals are good jumpers; ((I saw one leap over a creek bed which must have had a width of about six varas)). This day we saw many bears and deer and the tracks of a mule-like animal which we did not see. This day we traveled some four leagues. And the Reverend Father Fray Juan Chrespy observed the north latitude as  $37^{\circ} 54'$ . At the Sierra Grande covered with many savins.  
—40  $1/2$  leagues to Monterey.

Friday, 27 March.

We started at six in the morning and followed the direction of north northwest, going up and down several very grassy hills; the soil is very good. The reason for going by the hills was because of an arm of the estuary which extended four or five leagues to the front of the mountain. We encountered a bear and gave chase to kill him, ((but did not succeed because he reached a creek, very brush-covered and wooded, with a cliff on both sides of it)). After a league of progress we entered a very spacious grass-covered plain of very good soil. We went three leagues through it, crossing four streams, and ((saw many deer and cranes)).

To the left of our course, bearing west and east, we saw the great mouth of the Estuary of San Francisco, parallel to the ensenada of Point Reyes in the front of where stretch out the seven farallones, which we saw in the year 1769 when we camped near the ensenada. The mouth of the estuary must have a width of about three quarters of a league, with a farallon about a half a quarter-league in the mouth, on the south side. ((On the north of it is a half concealed rock very near to the cliff of the mouth)). Within the estuary we saw ((five)) islands, three of them ((forming a triangle)) in front of the mouth with a large distance between each other, ((and the nearest must have been over a league away)) from the channel of the mouth. The ((largest)) of

*the three, which must have had a ((circumference of about three leagues)), was very grassy and fairly wooded. The other two were much smaller, and also were quite verdant. ((The two other islands were somewhat aside from the course of the estuary which stretches about toward the northeast)). We established camp on the ((other)) side of the stream where we were short on firewood.*

*In the afternoon of this day a bear was killed near camp. ((I ordered the soldiers to make a reconnaissance and they reported having encountered three veins of ore, one thicker than the others, running from east to west. In the same little canyon where they found the outcroppings is a spring which rises under one outcrop and must run for about one hundred and fifty varas to empty into a lake which must have a diameter of one hundred varas. There must be about a naranja of water from the spring. North of this spring about a quarter of a league at a deep creek along the slope are three other springs with a pretty plentiful flow. The aforesaid springs of water and outcrops are opposite the San Francisco estuary mouth, and from it about five leagues toward the northeast)). On this day's march we saw quite a number of roses of Castile, poppies (lirios), and very lush growing sweet marjoram. We saw few heathen, ((which I conjecture must be owing to the many bears which live in these places)). The trip this day was of four leagues. The Camp of the Seventh Stream.*

*—44 1/2 leagues from Monterey.*

*Saturday, 28 March.*

*We started around seven in the morning and crossed several very grassy plains, and three running streams, full of trees, and they had to be prepared for their crossing, especially the last two which were very deep with much water. On the banks of both we found two villages with quite a few heathen, men, women and children, who offered us some wild onions, potatoes (papas), and several pieces of feather work, along with two dried geese stuffed with grass—they being a little beside themselves but making a gesture of joyousness and friendship. We reciprocated by giving them some strings of glass beads. For this they were very thankful ((and pestered us to remain)), and about eight heathen kept following us.*

*On having gone three leagues we made a stop on the side of a stream in front of which we had the estuary of San Francisco ((which thus trends in a northeasterly direction)). Some heathen came to visit us, with many demonstrations of joy. One of them, wearing a huge feather headdress, came playing a ((bone)) whistle, ((making turns this way and that as he approached us)). They gave us a good many feather pieces, a banner with a net, and a very well-made stone pipe.*



*We responded with glass beads and other trifles. (( From the last village to the place where we established camp, which must have been round about one league, the course was in the northeast direction and up and down low hills of good earth much covered with grass)). The journey was of five leagues. From the Camp of the Banner. —49 and 1/2 leagues to Monterey.*

*Sunday, 29 March.*

*We set forth at seven in the morning after hearing Mass, and ((when we had gone a league came to a village)) of very friendly heathen who offered us large portions of cacomites and soap-root, the former being a little wild fruit, round and a bit larger than the hazel. The latter is a small root in the shape of an onion. ((Also they gave us several feather pieces, and showed much pleasure and joy)). We continued on our way ((and in another league approached a second village along the trail. The heathen came out to welcome us and give us gifts in the same ways as had the others)).*

*((Some twenty of them)) followed us on their own accord until very near to where we made camp, which was in a spacious plain near a stream of very good water. The march was for about seven leagues, up and down over some hills, very grassy and of ((good)) soil. ((Two and one half leagues)) were toward the northwest alongside the estuary ((which ran in and out of the land in several places. As we reached the top of a hill, after we had passed the said distance)), we saw that from the same estuary an arm projected between some medium-sized hills, the direction in part being to the northeast ((and east northeast, without our being able to see the end in a distance of some twelve leagues which were visible to us)). The width of the arm was in some places a quarter of a league, ((and in others of more. From the top of the same hill we could see that the arm of the estuary, before it made its entry between the hills, forms)) a sort of large, round bay, wherein were seen two or three whale calves (ballenatos). ((In the bay one could also see from here another very large estuary arm that took its direction to the northwest, a part of it heading up against the mountains in the direction of the coast.*

*That day the horizons were quite clear and as a consequence we were able to see some twenty leagues where the estuary extended toward the northwest without being able to see the end of it)). On both sides of the estuary we saw many smokes, and the heathen made signs to us saying that they were villages. It is certain that all the heathen we saw along the estuary were very amiable, docile, and fond of giving us all they had. They were almost all of a goodly height, the most light and fair in color we have seen in these lands, and they compare in their*

liveliness, dress, and kind of weapons with the heathen of the Santa Barbara Chammel. The women are the most modest we have seen. The men wear their hair long and most of them bind it up into ((a kind of tail. They do not have the habit of stealing)). Near the place where we made camp I wanted to test the water which we thought to be of the estuary, and we found it to be good and delicious. ((Along the entire shoreline we saw no trees or anything that could indicate fresh water. On the contrary, along the shores we saw)) many sea shells. The heathen from the other side of the estuary came on several rafts of reeds ((and wanted to take us to the other shore. On one raft five heathen. We thanked them for their favors and gave them some beads and cloth with which they were very happy; they then went back to their lands)). This day we advanced some eight leagues. Camp of the Post. —57 1/2 leagues from Monterey.

Monday, 30 March.

We broke camp at half past six because mail had arrived from Monterey. We took a course toward the east northeast ((between very grassy hills. After going a league)) we came out to a plain and encountered four heathen ((who, in spite of the various efforts made, we could not calm)). At a pole they left for us feathers, an animal pelt, and some arrows, all close by, while they kept a distance from us of ((about two hundred varas)). I moved up to the pole with a soldier and collected what was there and ((on the same pole hung)) some beads ((with some other trifles so they would take them all as a token of peace)). We saw at a distance of a league from us in the middle of a plain their village ((which was very large and extremely populous)). We continued along the same direction until we reached a stream which had a deep course and carried considerable water, and the banks all overgrown with trees with a good many walnuts, as the soldiers said. It had to be prepared for us so that we could get across; this they managed to do in a short time. We continued our march in the same direction until we reached some hills which formed a pass.

((Close to here, another four heathen came forth toward us, and behaved just like the previous ones. But we got one of them to take the strings of glass beads)) with the result that in a short while there gathered about us some ((fifty)) heathen to receive us, bringing to us many gifts ((of feathers, pelts, and)) soap-root. ((They demonstrated great pleasure and joy, but were somewhat edgy)). It is a fact that all the heathen were very tall ((and well-formed)).

All the land we crossed up to here ((was very level and grassy and of excellent texture; there were a good many white-oaks and live-oaks

studded all over it)). We continued on our way and soon started uphill towards a high pass from where we could see a great stretch of the course of the waters of the arm of the estuary of San Francisco. It twisted in two or three branches over a very large plain, sometimes northeast, sometimes east ((without our being able to find the end in the fifteen or twenty leagues we could see)). Going down the pass we encountered a large plain and followed a direction to the east where we saw many antelope, ((deer)), geese, ((cranes, and a good many tracks of cibulos or Buras (sic) and others like a mule's)). We covered some eight leagues this day; three to the pass, and the rest all on the last mentioned plain, ((passing to the left of our course, some lakes. The soil appeared to be good and somewhat grassy, but short on firewood.

We camped on a cove which was made by)) some medium-sized hills that fronted a small stream ((with water which was not very good. I sent out six soldiers to explore the terrain; three to go toward the north as far as the waters allowed them to, so I would be sure of the direction followed by the big channels of water, and also to observe the plains and mountains which lay ahead of us. The other three were sent in the direction of the south and southeast so as to see if on the next day we could find a better direction for the return to Monterey.

The former returned in the evening, reporting that)) the waters continued in their direction in three branches and twisted now to the east and then to the northeast; that at a distance of some fifteen or twenty leagues the three arms united and headed up against some large mountains toward the south southwest; ((that the plain continued toward the east and east northeast, and north and south were many mountains; and that both north and south there were a great many trees coming down)) which seemed signs of streams emptying into the course of the waters. ((Also they explained they had reached)) one of the water branches whose bed was very steep, had tested it with a pole of a vara and a half at its bank to see if it had much depth and had not been able to reach bottom, from which they inferred it carried much water. ((Also they said the width of this stream must have been a quarter of a league, but had little or no tree-cover along its banks.

The three other soldiers returned the same night reporting their opinion that we would be able to find a route to the southeast, and that if we wanted to we could return that way.

The Reverend Father Fray Juan)) named such an immensity of waters and such a great river, The Great River of Our Father San Francisco in Northern California, which has its course from  $37^{\circ} 54'$  in which latitude it has its mouth. About two leagues before reaching is camp the R.P.F. Juan Chrespy observed with the astrolabe the

latitude  $39^{\circ} 13'$  north. ((The camp was named, *The Camp of the Return*)).

—65  $1/2$  leagues from Monterey.

*Return of this Expedition from the Final Point Reached for the Exploration of the Port and Estuary of Our Father San Francisco.*

*Tuesday, 31 March*

We left around six in the morning, making our return to the Royal Presidio of Monterey, ((moving in between some middle-sized hills)), direction south southeast, and ((after a league)) descended a pass and entered a fairly large plain thickly covered with white oak, ((and crossed a creek with a good deal of water, by the side of which was a village whose heathen were very unmannerly)). They took to their heels ((and though much we tried we could not calm them. In the space of a league)) we crossed the plain toward the south southeast; the soil seemed to be very good. We ascended some middle-sized hills and after going a little farther saw another fairly large plain which we crossed in the same direction, ((and in two leagues we passed by the side of a village of very wild heathen. When they saw us they ran to the tops of the hills to the sides of where we were crossing and gave many shouts. The village had about seven houses of a spherical form)). The last plain we crossed was heavily covered with large white oaks and live oaks.

We continued our march toward the southeast through a valley, very peaceful and pleasant, which in places was a half a league wide and in others more; a very plentiful stream ran through its midst, very wooded with laurels, sycamores, white oaks, and other trees we did not know. The entire valley was of very good soil and very grassy, and with some white oaks and live-oaks on the hills on both sides of it. We saw in passing a number of heathen, but they were very shy. We camped near the stream, having proceeded eight leagues. From the Camp of the Return—8 leagues.

*Wednesday, 1 April.*

We left at six in the morning taking the road ((in the middle)) of the valley toward the south; in places it became wider and in others more narrow. After a little distance we ((had to cross)) the stream, ((and we had to prepare it)). We continued our way and in two more leagues we saw ((on our right)), very near to us, quite a big heathen village, but because it was raining we did not want to go to it. The heathen shouted at us, ((now from the village and now from the woods nearby, as warning signals to the neighboring villages. A short

way further on the trail we more or less confirmed our suspicion because)) we found, to the side of a good stream of water an extremely big village of heathen who perhaps numbered in excess of two hundred, of both sexes. On the left side, at about gun-shot distance was another village, a bit smaller than the last. We gave the heathen strings of glass beads ((and asked them through sign language where might be the estuary of San Francisco and if it were far, which they answered with gestures toward the south, pointing the finger down, which means near. We continued on our way in the same direction and at a league ascended a little pass which was formed by some low hills from where we could see a great valley six leagues at its greatest length, and at its shortest, four. The longer part ran from north to south and the shorter from east to west. At the west side there were many tulares and lakes and close to them many bear diggings. The shores of the lake were much overgrown.

We continued our journey toward the south through a narrow way between the hills and lakes and in a little while reached an abundant stream which we followed alongside, keeping it on our left hand as the valley narrowed)). After eight and one half leagues we made camp beside the stream ((on a tableland which was formed by a hill on the right; and through a ravine formed between this hill and another ran a little stream of very good water to which we gave the name of Father Fray Juan Chrespy because it was discovered by his reverence)). All the country we advanced over this day was very good and had pasture, and was covered with many white-oaks and live-oaks and other trees, with a good many streams of water heavily grown with trees and some hazel-nut thickets. From the Camp of the Return—16 1/2 leagues.

Thursday, 2 April.

We left at six in the morning ((and after proceeding a league we had passed three streams of water, two of which emptied in the one at the side of our camp)). We followed toward the south, the canyon becoming narrower and the land more rough than before, with small descents into little gullies, but all the hollow overgrown with groves of live-oaks and white-oaks. We followed the creek, well-wooded with the same sort of trees as described, for a league and a half and then passed across the bed which carried much water.

We crossed a plain which lay between this creek and another; it must have been about three quarters of a league square, with very friable soil and very grassy. We crossed the other well-wooded stream with its good current of water and a little later ascended some moderate-sized sloping hills covered with ((good)) soil and grass; ((after a league)), we had come to the top of them where they formed a pass ((from



*which we could see the estuary and the valley of San Francisco on its south side. We descended until we entered the plain, leaving the large stream that we crossed on March 25 at our right hand side, half a league away from us, the one that had south of it the three lakes referred to on that same day.*

*At the bottom of the slope was a fairly large village with a good many heathen who shouted at us)). We came out parallel to the head of the estuary ((and valley)) of San Francisco, continuing in the direction of south southeast, ((and crossed two streams mentioned on March 25. We left three villages of small size on our left which had also been passed on that day. We made camp on a little stream about half a league from where camp was established on the 24th of March. All the land we crossed this day was very fine and grass-covered)). We journeyed about nine leagues. To this place we gave the name, the Arroyo of San Francisco de Paula.*

*From the Camp of the Return—25 1/2 leagues.*

*Saturday, 4 April.*

*We left the Camp of the Stream of the Pass at about six in the morning, crossing the long and broad valley of San Bernardino de Siena which we had crossed on the way up on March 23d, and in ((the midst of it)) we encountered heathen who as soon as they saw us got scared and ran inside their two little houses. ((I wanted to give them)) some little strings of beads, but there was no way we could make them receive the gift. We camped at the same creek and place ((as on the 21st of March)). This journey was of ten leagues. ((Most of the way)) led to the southeast, and the rest to the south southwest. Camp of San Benito. From the Camp of the Return—44 1/2 leagues.*

*Sunday, 5 April.*

*After hearing Mass we left at about seven, following to the south, continuing as far as the hill having the shape of a sugarloaf, which must have been about two leagues. From this hill one enters the plain of the river known by the soldiers as the Monterey, while Father Fray Juan called it Santa Delphina. This plain spreads out as far as the river for about four leagues. All the land is very flat and grassy. This plain has many large lakes of fresh water, ((good meadows and pastures for the raising of much livestock)), and is not lacking in little streams which cross in the middle of it. After six leagues we arrived at the river mentioned and which carried a good deal of water so that with difficulty we were able to cross.*

*We continued the march in the direction of the northwest and in three and one half leagues reached the Royal Presidio of San Carlos of*

the Port of Monterey. ((The Reverend Father Fray Juan)) rested almost until sundown, ((his stay with us being about two hours. Then the entire company accompanied his reverence)) to the Mission of Señor San Carlos of the Carmel River, and we arrived there at about half an hour after sundown, where we met the Reverend Father President Fray Junípero Serra; well, thank God. From the Camp of the Return—54 leagues. ((The journey today was 9 1/2 leagues to Monterey and 10 1/2 leagues to Mission del Carmelo)).

Note.

((From the Camp of the Return or Bad Water to a village called Buena Vista, because it is situated on a hill of medium height that stands out above much of the plain (of the River of San Francisco); this plain probably must exceed one hundred and twenty leagues in length and is in places twenty, fifteen, or fewer, leagues wide. In its entirety it is a labyrinth of lakes and tulares. The River of San Francisco, which separates into several arms, winds about in the middle of the plain, now entering and now flowing out of the lakes, until it is very near its outlet at the estuary of San Francisco into which it runs and empties. Between the windings of the river and along its sides are a good many very large patches of good friable soil which can easily be drained of water.

The entire plain is very thickly settled with many large villages. (The natives) are plentifully supplied with seeds, especially the kind which the soldiers call 'heathen rice'. This grows taller than our rice and has a very good flavor. There are two species, one white and the other yellow, and the grain is like mustard. Game also is plentiful—deer, antelopes, mule deer, bear, geese, cranes, ducks, and countless other kinds of animals, both terrestrial and winged.

In their villages the natives live during the winter in very long blocks, the families separated from each other, and outside they have very large buildings in spherical form where they keep their seeds and utensils. They are a people of very good features and of superior height, and are very frank and generous; it has not been noted that they have committed the least theft. They have some large stones like metates on which they grind their seeds.

From the village of Buena Vista the plain continues toward the south for seven leagues more, over good lands with some water, and at the end, toward the south, one goes through a pass partly of creek hollows very thickly grown with groves of white-oaks and live-oaks as are also all the hills and mountains which form them. Going now three leagues in the same direction, one comes to a very large plain, which keeps getting wider and wider both towards the east and towards the south, leaving to the north and northwest many mountains.

*Last year, going in pursuit of deserters, I ended up in that plain fifty leagues toward the east of San Diego. For lack of water we went to the mountain and reached the plain again, being parallel to Mission San Gabriel, and about fifteen leagues from it. We went along the plain toward the north, keeping close to the mountain on account of water, for about twenty-five leagues until we reached Buena Vista pass. For most of the twenty-five leagues we were passing through groves of palmares de datiles (Joshua trees), the land both to the east and south having more and more such groves, yet the country appeared to be very short of water. We saw many clouds of smoke everywhere in the plain.*

*The Royal Presidio of San Carlos of Monterey.*

*November 27, 1773.*

*Pedro Fages (Rubric).*

*End of the dispatch.*

*Charles Wollenberg*

*Instructor of History and Political  
Science, Laney College, Oakland.*

## Through the Viewing Glass with Turn-of-the Century Photographers

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**A**MONG SAN FRANCISCO'S first daguerreotypists, William Shew opened his place of business in 1851: it was a wagon in Portsmouth Plaza. By the 1880's, the city had become a center of professional photography, and during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, vast quantities of glass negatives were processed. Large numbers have survived, and about 2500 of them are housed in the Californiana portion of the Special Collections Department of the San Francisco Public Library.

Last August a small part of the library's collection was displayed in a show titled "Photographs of the Bay Region, 1860-1906" prepared by Richard Hansen at the Focus Gallery, 2146 Union Street. The show included some of the collection's "spectaculars": a thirteen section panorama of the city taken in 1877 by Eadweard Muybridge from the Hopkins mansion on Nob Hill, Muybridge's studies of the interior of Leland Stanford's home, an anonymous photographer's turn-of-the-century view of the Richmond District from Parnassus Heights. There also were the standard shots of the Cliff House, Sutro Baths, and scenes of the 1906 fire.

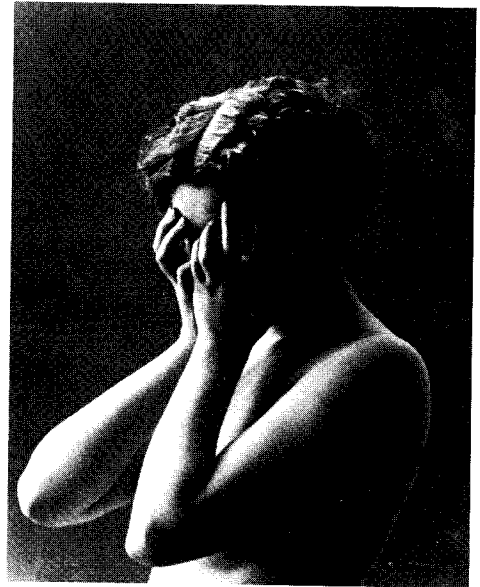
But the most charming and sensitive portions of the show were dozens of posed pictures of ordinary people. In most cases, we do not know who the people or their photographers were, but the pictures convey a sense of humanity and life that give the viewer a special insight into the past. We have published a few of these pictures to give you a taste of what was a fine photographic exhibit and to acquaint you with the growing resources of the San Francisco Library's Californiana collection.

That collection consists of a great variety of materials, from gold rush manuscripts to contemporary underground newspapers. It is gradually being catalogued by an under-manned and over-worked staff under the direction of Mrs. Gladys Hansen, mother of the Focus Gallery show's organizer. The collection, including the glass negatives, are not open for casual browsing but are available to students, scholars, and other citizens with a serious interest. Reproduction service is available, and prints of most photographs that appeared in the show can be obtained through the Focus Gallery.

NOTE This is the first of a projected series on the noteworthy pictorial archives in California.



*Who are they? The mourning quintet holding hands before the grave of a Nellie J. Rich on a spring day in 1899, or the modest maiden, posing coyly in the altogether? No one knows. But time dissolves in their presence, evoked on the glass plates of some forgotten photographer. Of such are the extraordinary photographs in the special collections of the San Francisco Public Library.*







*Four to three, starched and pressed for  
a holiday outing, seven swells pose in  
the park; a sturdy bicyclist, transfixed  
by the camera, stands before a lens;  
and a confident and unbruised boxer  
poses with his entourage*





## Book Reviews

CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *Book Review Editor*

*Alfred Kroeber: A Personal Configuration.* By Theodora Kroeber. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970. xi + 292 pp. Photos. \$7.95.)

*Reviewed by D. L. OLNSTED, Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Davis.*

THIS BOOK, the latest by the author of *Isbi* and *The Inland Whale*, is a biography of her late husband, the great anthropologist whose spirit still suffuses departments of anthropology, not only at Berkeley, but on the other campuses of the University of California as well. Having come to California at the turn of the century, fresh from his graduate work at Columbia under Boas, Kroeber became and remained the dominant figure on the anthropological scene here until his death sixty years later. As a result of his personal exertions—and those of his students—California is probably better-known anthropologically than any other region of comparable size in the world. A staggering amount of this knowledge was collected by Kroeber himself and published in his monumental *Handbook of the Indians of California* as early as 1925. However, Kroeber did much besides study California Indians; he made major contributions to such disparate areas as anthropological theory, the archaeology of Peru, typological linguistics, folklore, comparative design, ecological anthropology, the comparative study of civilizations . . . one could go on and on. By the time of his death, he was unquestionably one of the great figures in anthropology anywhere in the world, and very little of his major work has been superseded, though it has been built upon by others.

One who occupied a long life with unceasing scholarly activity had neither time nor inclination to write extensive memoirs and necessarily remains somewhat mysterious to generations later than his own. To those who wish to understand this towering figure in the intellectual history of California, Mrs. Kroeber's book can be highly recommended.

Roughly a sixth of the book is devoted to Kroeber's family, his childhood in a German-American intellectual milieu in New York City, his academic precocity, his schooling. The end of this first section is particularly noteworthy for an excellent short sketch of Franz Boas and of Kroeber's relations with him.

Mrs. Kroeber next turns to the early San Francisco years, when Kroeber came to take charge of some museum collections and stayed on to found the world-renowned Department of Anthropology at Berkeley. Her accurate account of the role played by Mrs. Phoebe Apperson Hearst in the development of the university's collections, and her sympathetic treatment of Kroeber's first marriage are highlights of this section.

The decade between Kroeber's marriages saw the beginnings of his life-long friendship with Robert Lowie, his brief but intensive interlude with psychoanalysis, both as analyst and as lay analyst, his first trip to Peru, and the first decisive expansion of the Berkeley department along teaching, rather than curatorial, lines.

Then he met, fell in love with, and married Theodora Kracaw Kroeber. No paraphrase could do justice to the charming account she gives of their life together and of his further anthropological activities, many of which she shared. Her account of this aspect is of great interest, since anthropologists, unlike many other workers in the academic vineyard, spend large amounts of their lives doing field work among people whose cultures are very different from their own. This circumstance gives a special

flavor to life with an anthropologist, whether his or her family goes along on such field trips or stays home. Anthropologists and their families handle this problem in various ways, depending on the wishes of the couple, the ages of the children, and other factors. Mrs. Kroeber's story is therefore fascinating for the glimpses it affords of the patterns of life and work developed by this very productive couple, who were raising four children while doing field work, teaching, and writing—both of them—voluminously. Though she gave up her own graduate training when she married (in accordance with a pattern perhaps more common then than now), Mrs. Kroeber's intelligence did not suffer thereby; it is evident in her independently-won position as a writer on anthropological topics. Though she modestly disclaims anthropological expertise, her judgments are generally those of a professional. Since she knows so much and writes so well, this book can be enthusiastically recommended to anyone, anthropologist or not.

*Minorities in California History.* Edited by George E. Frakes and Curtis B. Solberg. (New York: Random House, 1971.)

*Racism in California: A Reader in the History of Oppression.* Edited by Roger Daniels and Spencer Olin, Jr. (New York: MacMillan, 1971.)

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*Reviewed by* CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *Book Review Editor of the California Historical Quarterly and Instructor of History and Political Science, Laney College, Oakland, and co-editor of Neither Separate Nor Equal: Race and Racism in California.*

"ETHNIC HISTORY," if by that we mean the history of non-white groups in America, is certainly "in" this season. Since the protests and upheavals of the sixties, American historians have turned out great quantities of material on minority groups and racism in the United States. The quality of these works has varied from pseudo-books, obviously aimed at the faddish marketplace, to serious scholarship which probes deeply into the nature of the American mind and society.

Most of these studies have been written primarily to show that "white racism" is an integral and important part of American history. One cannot blame historians for repeating this fact again and again, given the reluctance of textbook writers, let alone politicians and the general public, to accept the historical record. But it is now high time for writers of ethnic history to go beyond the process of documenting and re-documenting the existence of racism in America's past. We need serious analyses and interpretations of ethnic groups in roles other than victims. For example, we should know more about the ability of black people to create and maintain a distinctive and valuable Afro-American life style and the ability of Japanese farmers to obtain land in spite of restrictive Alien land laws. The role of Japanese as employers of other ethnic groups should be explored.

Recent general studies of the non-white experience in California have only partially met this need. Roger Daniels and Harry Kitano have produced a useful analysis of American racism based on a brief survey of the California experience, but their book's historical coverage is little more than a summary outline. Robert Heizer and Alan Almquist have presented a good account of the racist features of California's first state constitution, but have failed to give adequate coverage to the experiences of various groups in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Paul Jacobs and Eve Pell included much valuable California material in their documentary collection, but their major purpose seems to have been to expose rather than explain racism. I have edited two collections of original essays on ethnic experience in California, but neither was

intended to be a comprehensive study of the subject.<sup>1</sup> The embarrassing truth is that none of us who have labored in the field of California ethnic history in recent years has equalled the range of coverage and ideas exhibited by the collected works of Carey McWilliams in the 1930s and 1940s.

Now we have two new entrants: *Racism in California: a Reader in the History of Oppression*, edited by Roger Daniels and Spencer Olin, Jr., and *Minorities in California History*, edited by George E. Frakes and Curtis B. Solberg. The two books are similar in format: collections of readings supplemented by introductory passages. The readings primarily are fragments of previously published works by a variety of authors, while the introductions are written by the editors themselves. Both books are aimed at college audiences, as supplemental assignments for California history or ethnic studies classes. The readings in both books are designed primarily to document the existence of prejudice in California's past and present.

Despite these similarities, there are differences between the books which, to my mind, make the Daniels and Olin volume the better work. Frakes and Solberg devote about half of their book to "current problems"; as a result, historical coverage is thin, particularly on the important period from 1880 to 1940. Frakes and Solberg include material on radical students of the 1960s, but they do not adequately explain the historical parallel between this "minority" and the various ethnic groups they cover. In an apparent effort at objectivity, Frakes and Solberg provide cautious, even bland, introductions which are of little use to the reader.

In contrast, the historical coverage of the Daniels and Olin book is generally good and the introductions are lively and factual. The editors are not afraid to let the reader know where they stand on issues. Sam Yorty's 1969 mayoral campaign is described as a "naked appeal to white solidarity," while the difference between white racism and black racism is defined as the difference between a "means of oppression" and a "response to it." Readers may disagree with such judgments, but it is refreshing to see the editors' viewpoints so honestly and clearly stated. However, in fairness to Frakes and Solberg, my preference for their competitors' work may not be totally unbiased; Daniels and Olin included a portion of one of my own articles in their book.

But of greater importance than the question of which of these volumes is the better book is the fact that neither collection of fragmentary readings is a substitute for a comprehensive, well-documented interpretation of California ethnic history. Such an interpretation remains unwritten; indeed, the basic groundwork of scholarship on which the interpretation must be built remains largely undone. We need comparative and case studies to answer crucial questions. For example, what has been the relationship between race and socio-economic class in the state? What kind of conflicts and alliances have existed between different groups, both non-white and white, and what are the similarities and differences between the groups' respective experiences? How does ethnic experience in California fit into larger themes of migration and social mobility in the state and nation? Treating such questions would move the study of California ethnic history away from the narrow and provincial perspective it often has displayed in the past. California's ethnic experiences are unique in some respects, but also are part of the larger social history of the state and nation, and they must be treated as such.

1. Harry Kitano and Roger Daniels, *American Racism, an Exploration of the Nature of Prejudice* (Englewood Cliffs, 1970); Robert Heizer and Alan Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley, 1971); Paul Jacobs, et al., *To Serve the Devil* 2v. (New York, 1971); Charles Wollenberg (ed), *Ethnic Conflict in California History* (Los Angeles, 1970); Wollenberg and Roger Olmsted, (eds.) *Neither Separate Nor Equal: Race and Racism in California* (San Francisco, 1971).

*The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast of North America, 1810-1914: A Study of British Maritime Ascendancy.* By Barry M. Gough. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1971. xvi + 294 pp.)

*Reviewed by A. P. NASATIR, Professor of History, California State University, San Diego*

IT IS A PLEASURE to review a well written, solidly researched work. Gough's book is just that. In this volume Gough has supplemented the plethora of works on settlers, migrations and fur traders who crossed the continent. He writes also about traders who plied the Pacific Ocean, and of international relations and rivalries. Here we have for the first time the entrance of the important part played by the Royal Navy. Perhaps Gough has gone a bit to the extreme in some of his statements depicting the role and influence of the Royal Navy, but that is of no great consequence for the student saturated with personal accounts and biases, and international diplomacy. Gough, in his admirable portrayal of the activities of the Royal Navy in the Pacific, and his listing and accounting of the several single, and some plural ship visits to the Pacific Coast, has stressed the point, which to this reviewer is extremely important, that the naval power of Great Britain in the 19th century remained feared and almost unchallenged. Hence, the single or few Royal Naval ships in the Pacific represented the great and preponderant, not to say overbearing influence of British power in international and colonial policy. After all, any nation that had a war vessel present at the spot at the right moment (as for example, in Hawaii) usually got the advantage.

Professor Gough has saturated himself with the history, diplomacy and settlement of the Pacific Northwest. A native of British Columbia, he has done a magnificent job in filling in lacunae in the history of the area.

Obviously proud of the Royal Navy, Professor Gough, steeped in British naval history, naval logistics and ships, has approached his problem in a series of essays (in a sense) on topics or crises. He explains in detail the role of the Royal Navy in the origin and growth of British Columbia, and uses that area as his focal point of interest. He begins his book with Anglo-American rivalry over the Oregon Country through the settlement of 1846, and after that focuses even more so on British Columbia. He gives a careful account of the Pacific squadron's operations in combination with the French in the attack on Petropavlovsk during the Crimean War, the work of the Royal Navy in assisting in maintaining order during the Fraser River Gold Rush and preventing hostilities during the "Pig War"; he goes on to tell how this same navy helped support British neutrality during the American Civil War, and kept the Fenians under surveillance.

Gough also pays attention to naval logistics; he details Esquimaux's development as a naval base, as well as technological changes in the Royal Navy during the 19th century. Even though he emphasizes the impact of the navy in determining outcomes of incidents and minimizing other factors, he does issue several disclaimers and gives references to take care of that.

This reviewer has little but praise for Professor Gough's book. He would have liked to have had Gough go more deeply into the rivalry of the two powers, and indeed other powers as well, for California, and show more intimately what the British navy under Seymour did (or rather did not do) with respect to California. However, Gough's center of interest is north of California, and this reviewer's interest is south of Puget Sound.

Professor Gough has embellished his book with a wealth of 45 illustrations and seven maps. The book is well written, handsomely printed, and merits reading by



students, general readers and teachers. It is provided with an extensive bibliography and has a serviceable index. The value of the book is enhanced with a number of appendices giving lists of ships and complements of the Pacific Station, the distribution of the Royal Navy, commanders-in-chief of the Pacific Station and the changing technology in British warships.

Certainly the book fulfills the subtitle: *A Study of British Maritime Ascendancy*.

*By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager*

## BOOK NOTICES

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PARTIAL TO BIBLIOGRAPHIES? A unique and very selective bibliography will be discovered in perusing Carey S. Bliss' *AUTO'S ACROSS AMERICA—A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TRANSCONTINENTAL TRAVEL: 1903-1940* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1972. 60 pp., \$15.00). Intriguingly adorned with facsimile title pages of the publications discussed, along with an equally unusual, as well as thought-provoking addition, of "Rejected Titles." This book may well induce a minor disturbance in the book collecting field. Collectors of bibliographies and of fine printing will desire it for their libraries as it is exquisitely printed by Saul and Lillian Marks of the famed Plantin Press. Then—the automotive buffs will soon set up a frantic search after they discover this diverting one-of-a-kind bibliography of guide-books used by our automotive pioneers has been issued in a limited edition of only 315 copies.

Then there is the choice item compiled and annotated by the Reverend Francis J. Weber, archivist of the archdiocese of Los Angeles, *A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE TO CALIFORNIA HISTORY, 1863-1972* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1972. 40 pp., \$7.00), which has just been added to the growing list of well prepared bibliographies covering the literature of our Golden State. The 200 entries are selective in scope, but the commentary provides stimulating and entertaining viewpoints on the books selected and discussed. A Foreword by the noted bibliographer Robert G. Cowan enhances this edition which could be classified as an enlargement of an earlier work, issued in 1968, by Reverend Weber, "A Bibliography of California Bibliographies," and that all too soon gained an out-of-print status. This newer edition, no doubt, will gain a similar status since a mere 250 copies have been offered for sale.

Mark and Marie Harrington spent many long and happy years together working toward the eventual restoration of the Mission San Fernando and of the Andrés Pico adobe in the San Fernando Valley. Shortly before the demise of Mark, a noted anthropologist, the Harringtons had tasted the joy of bringing about much of its needed restoration. With restoration all but completed and joy of accomplishment so close at hand, last year's damaging earthquake of February 9th has only renewed Marie Harrington's efforts and those of the local historical society to complete the sorely needed restoration work. Mrs. Harrington's keen interest in seeking aid and support to keep alive and bring about the complete restoration of her beloved Mission is evident in her *MISSION SAN FERNANDO—A GUIDE* (Mission Hills: San Fernando Valley Historical Society, 1971. 36 pp., \$2.00 paper-back). The Mission's history, secularization period, decay and restoration efforts during the 1930's are included in her brief study.

Numerous, indeed, are the small handbooks to take along while visiting Baja California. One such publication that should be in a pack-sack of reading materials for such a trip is Tina Kasbeer's informative *FLORA OF BAJA NORTE* (Glendale: La Siesta Press, 1971. 36 pp., \$1.00). The traveller will gain much of the beauty and wonder from such a visit by using this small handbook. In addition to the good photographs and map, Miss Kasbeer has included medicinal plants and their unusual uses, the variety of botanical puzzles that exist in Baja California Norte and discusses some of the botanical explorers of the area. As a valuable lagniappe she has added an unusual chapter on "Birds and their Plant Affiliations."

Two biographical studies to note would surely include the work of Reverend Francis J. Weber about California's first Roman Catholic Bishop, FRANCISCO GARCIA DIEGO: *CALIFORNIA'S TRANSITION BISHOP* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1972. 63 pp., \$8.50). This study spans the years 1833, the tense period of secularization of the missions and the days before American occupation in 1846. This is a finely prepared biographical and historical tribute to California's first bishop.

Dr. William O. Hendricks, Director of the Sherman Foundation in Corona Del Mar, has prepared a brief outline of the career and accomplishments of Moses H. Sherman, a Southern Californian and Arizonan pioneer. A leader in land development not only in these two areas but also in Baja California, Coachella and Imperial valleys and in Nevada, Sherman deserves a full scale biography. This small 20-page outline provides a brief insight into the vastness of Sherman's land and business enterprises and vision. General Moses H. Sherman organized and developed the Los Angeles Consolidated Electric Railway including the famed "Balloon Route" between Los Angeles and her beach towns. He also held a strong position, along with the Chandlers and Lankershimms, in the development of San Fernando Valley. Well designed and printed by the Castle Press of Pasadena, Dr. Hendricks' *M. H. SHERMAN, A PIONEER DEVELOPER OF THE PACIFIC SOUTHWEST* (Corona Del Mar, California: 1971. 20 pp., Gratis), might well provide the springboard to a full length biographical study on Sherman.

For the 1973 anniversary of the "Day of the Great Fire," here are some fifty-eight poems all devoted to an account of California's most appalling disaster, which could very well be read aloud during the 1973 observance. The days that followed April 18, 1906, with some 200,000 people camped in Golden Gate Park when a once-proud city was almost completely gutted, are caught up and described by John Robert Colombo in his book of poems, *THE GREAT SAN FRANCISCO EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE* (Fredericton, N.B., Canada: Fiddlehead Poetry Books, University of New Brunswick, 1971. 48 pp., \$2.50 paper-back).

A wealth of local historical studies worth noting are among the following titles covering the length of California.

A barrister who has assiduously devoted a lifetime to preserve the history of Santa Ana in Orange County and some of its foibles is Charles D. Swanner. His is in an enviable position for in 1953 his *SANTA ANA: A NARRATIVE OF YESTERDAY, 1870-1910*, was followed by *THE STORY OF COMPANY L*, then in 1965 his *FIFTY YEARS A BARRISTER IN ORANGE COUNTY* appeared. Now, in *THOSE WERE THE DAYS: RECOLLECTIONS OF CHARLES D. SWANNER* (Elsinore: Mayhall Print Shop, 1971. 78 pp., \$3.50 paper-back), choice vignettes of a warmly reflective viewpoint of earlier events and boyhood memories are presented.

Out Twentynine Palms way, the Calico Press is busily engaged in reissuing in new and enlarged editions various of their very worthwhile earlier publications. Now a third edition of their *LOST MINES OF DEATH VALLEY*, by Harold O. Weight (1970 86 pp., \$2.50 paper-back) is available. Well worth the modest price it contains a

fine collection of twenty-four photographs and Norton Allen's two-page map. Rock hounds and seekers of "lost" mines may discover that Weight's book will boost that tempting urge to get out and re-explore this dramatic and picturesque region.

In **ALPINE, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA: HISTORY OF A MOUNTAIN SETTLEMENT**, by Beatrice LaForce (El Cajon: The Sunlight Press, 1971. 520 pp., \$7.00 hard bound; \$4.95 paper-back), the student of local history will discover a wealth of data, illustrations and a clear historical picture of a San Diegan back country mountain hamlet.

Beginning with the Kumeyi Indians to the present occupants of the Vicjas and Barona Indian Reservations, farming scenes encompassing four score years, schools, churches, early roads and stages are all covered. Mrs. LaForce has gathered together all pertinent facts and legends about her home community. Through dint of much labor and time she has succeeded in presenting an enriching community grass roots history, embellished with the astounding collection of 571 photographs. Alpine is located in El Cajon Valley, of San Diego County, some thirty miles east of San Diego. The chapters on "The Water Story" and "Artists of Alpine" deserve special notice.

Along with the various civic festivities and observances the Mission San Gabriel marked the commencement of her 200th year with a nicely printed Bicentennial Edition, **MISSION SAN GABRIEL: TWO HUNDRED YEARS, 1771-1971** (San Gabriel: The Claretian Fathers, 1971. 128 pp., \$2.25) edited by the Reverend William E. King, C.M.F., depicts some of its history, visitors and efforts to keep alive the traditions of California Mission life. A very large portion of this book is given over to advertisements which helped defray the cost of this commemorative edition.

Fortunately reissued and published by the Reed School District Parent-Teacher Club, **SHARK POINT-HIGH POINT: AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF TIBURON AND BELVEDERE IN MARIN COUNTY, CALIFORNIA**, by the Eighth Graders of the Reed School, Classes of 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957 and 1958 (Belvedere-Tiburon: Graphic Arts, 1970. 98 pp., \$3.50 paper-back) will continue to please readers not only the residents of beautiful Marin County but railroad and maritime buffs throughout California. This is a local historical study, well designed with clear and beautifully reproduced photographs, maps and well prepared notes and bibliography. This publication provides a splendid example for other Californian schools to study and emulate.

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# In Memoriam

WILLIAM WILCOX ROBINSON, 1891-1972

W. W. Robinson was a remarkable man. I knew him for only one-half of his eighty-one years during which he gathered many honors, including being made a Fellow of the California Historical Society. While I regret missing those exuberant experiences of his early life, I cherish his last forty years of scholarly accomplishments in which he became the foremost historian of the Southern California scene. We who knew him during those years will remember him as a rather quiet, reserved and conservative man, always willing to share his great knowledge of the area in which he lived and which he loved. Perhaps no man knew its history better or recorded it more completely and accurately.

In his youth, as an undergraduate at the University of Southern California and at the University of California at Berkeley, from which he graduated, he considered himself to be a liberal socialist. He was curious about all aspects of life and especially, at that time, in the lives of the underprivileged. He attended I.W.W. meetings and haunted the colorful portions of town in which these people spent their lives, the honky tonks and shabby bars of Main Street and East Fifth Street in Los Angeles and the Barbary Coast of San Francisco. From his high school days he wanted to write and the basic material for a writer seemed to him at that time to be among the derelicts stumbling about in their tawdry world of cheap glitter. He wrote for the confession magazines such stories as "Infatuation Legalized. Told by a Business Man" and "Dance Hall Owner—A.B., Ph.D." As this phase passed he began to write poetry which was published in numerous magazines and culminated in a book, *Urgent Shapes*. His talents were varied and exceptional. During the Depression, when his salary was cut, he more than supplemented it with numerous juveniles which he wrote and his wife, Irene, illustrated—books of lasting interest such as *Beasts of the Tar Pits*, *Ancient Animals*, *Elephants* and *Lions*.

One can hardly picture the W. W. Robinson we knew so well as the poetic roustabout he seemed to be in those early days of his life. Edward Weston caught this aspect of his personality perfectly in a portrait he made of him in 1929. I believe that Will Robinson at one time would have preferred to have been a complete Bohemian, but by mere chance his life was funnelled into historical research. After graduation from high school he found a job with the Union Title & Abstract Company searching titles. This led him to the files of the courthouses of Riverside and San Bernardino counties. History became very real as he became aware of the beginnings of the ranchos and of the lives of the early settlers of California. His training in those early years was very important in his later life. He became a stickler for accuracy and for investigating and checking sources before he ever wrote a word. He decried misinformation, which he maintained was continually compounded by one writer repeating another's error until it became accepted as fact. He once made such a mistake in an historical booklet about the origin of Beverly Hills, and despite repeated retractions his original statement has become gospel. This he considered to be the one black mark in his historical writing.

After college, title work became Robinson's means of livelihood and with it came an ever increasing knowledge of local history. The 1930's, in Southern California, was an especially fortunate period for its absorption. There abounded men interested in western history. Henry Raup Wagner had retired to San Marino to be adjacent to the Huntington Library with its resources. Frederick Webb Hodge was



at the Southwest Museum. Carl Wheat had moved down to Los Angeles and revitalized the Historical Society of Southern California, inaugurating its *Quarterly* in 1934, and established the Platrix chapter of E. Clampus Vitus. J. Gregg Layne and Robert Woods were amassing valuable libraries—and a legendary knowledge of local history. Robert Ernest Cowan had an incredible knowledge of California books and history, and the inimitable Lindley Bynum travelled the state, gathering material first for the Huntington Library and later for the University of California. Phil Townsend Hanna edited *Westways* and was a fount of information.

Will Robinson absorbed from all of these and, as they passed from the scene, he became the pre-eminent historian of Southern California. His books are many, including *Ranchos Become Cities*; *Land in California*; *Panorama*; *Los Angeles from the Days of the Pueblo*, published by the California Historical Society; *Los Angeles: A Profile*; *Maps of Los Angeles*; and of course the delightful, *Tarnished Angels: Paradisiacal Turpitude in Los Angeles*.

As an able and recognized historian he was also a valued Director of the Historical Society, a member of the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, a past president of the Zamorano Club of Los Angeles, vice president of the Title Insurance and Trust Company, member of the Cultural Heritage Board of Los Angeles, director of the Friends of the Huntington Library and a friend to all who knew him.

WARD RITCHIE

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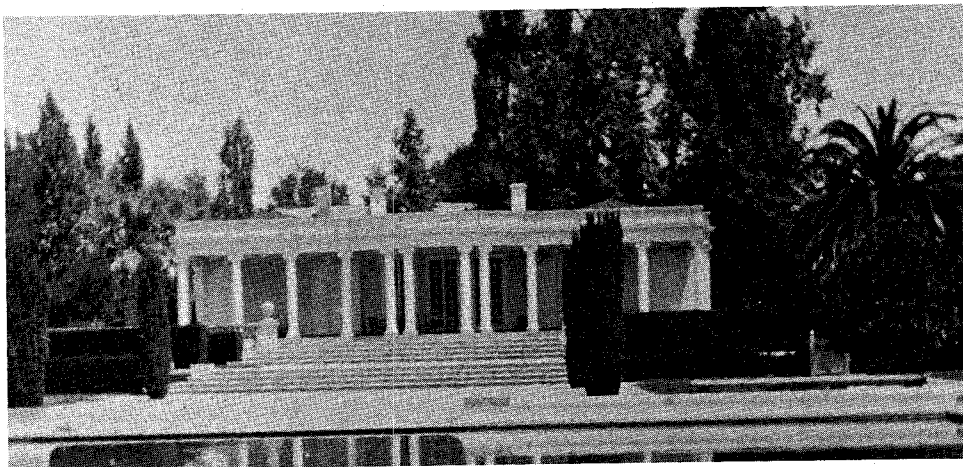
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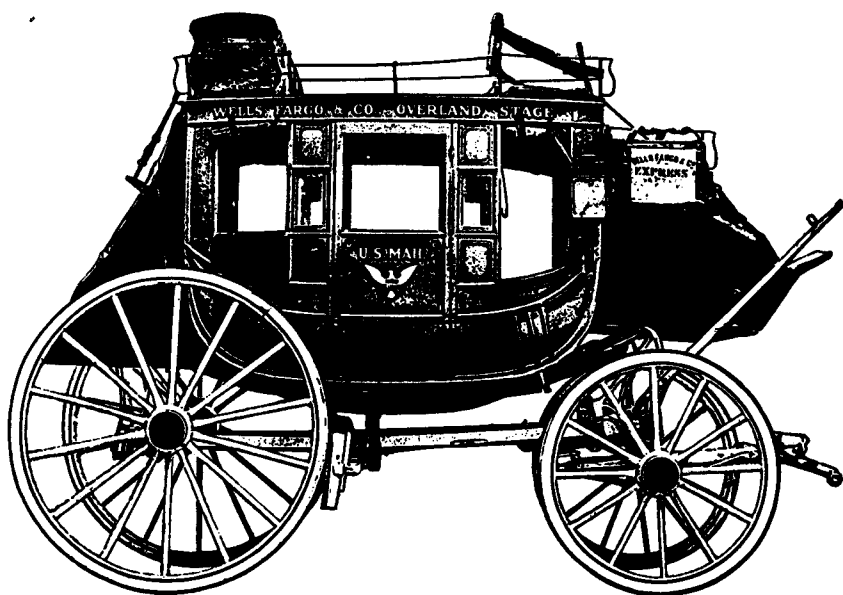
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